

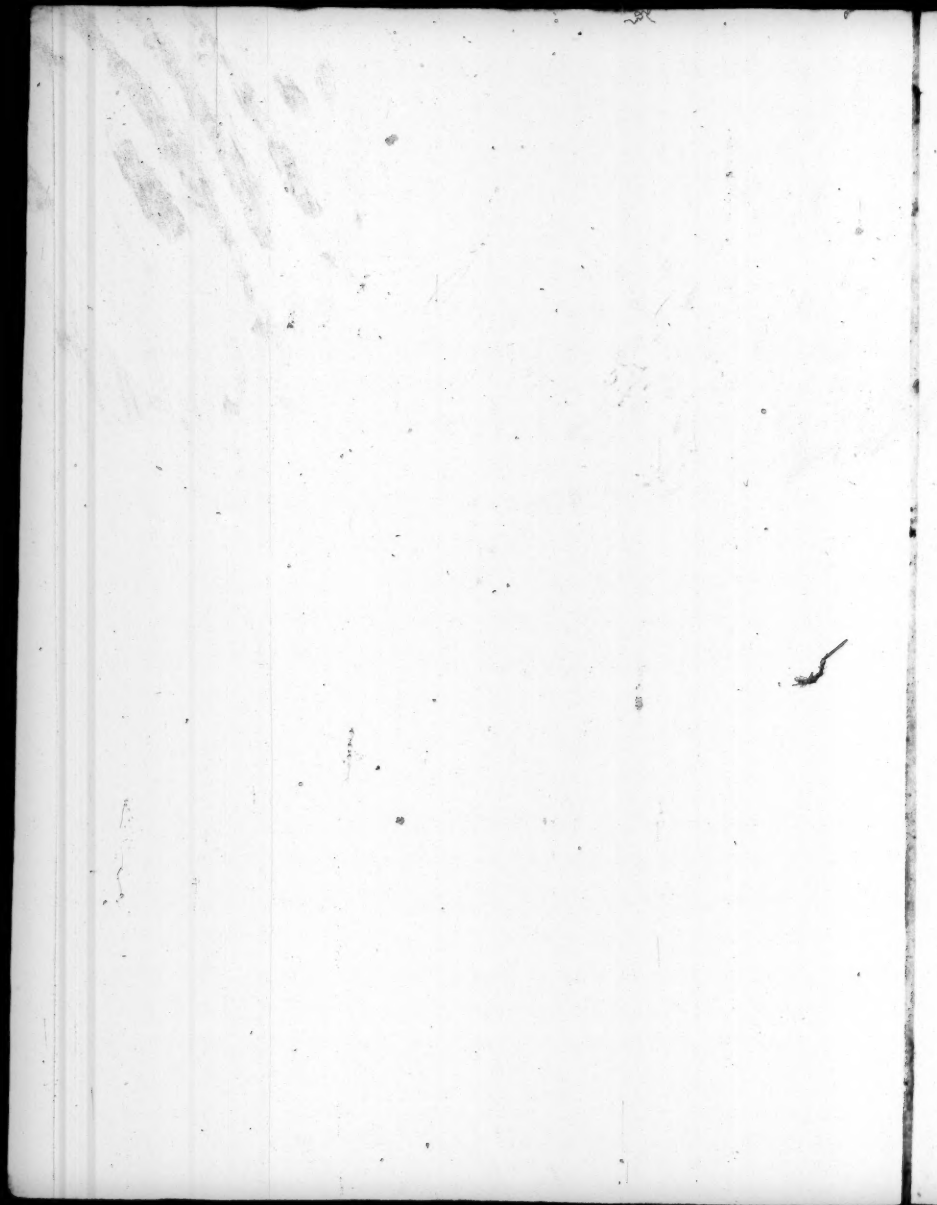
The Mirrour of
GOVERNMENT
BOTH
Ecclesiasticall & Civill,

Plainly Representing how farr the Just
Power of the Magistrate doth extend in the Affairs
both of **PEACE** and **WARRE**,

As also, The Obligation which by the
Laws of Nature and of Nations doth lye upon him to
preserve, Inviolate the liberties & the priviledges of the people

Together, With the great Care which
Kings & Princes ought to have for the Peace and Prosperity
of the Church : And the great Zeale which the
Clergy again are to expresse for the Advancement
of the State, as is made evident by the *Primi-*
tive times, When the Church by Lowliness
of Spirit did flourish in high Examples,

LONDON,
Printed for the use and Benefit of Thomas Gibbs,
Gentleman. 1658.



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To the Christian Reader.



It seems good to the Lord not only to set Ministers as lights in the face of the people to shine in doctrine, and practice; but also that the examples of their lives should extend to their sufferings as well as to their common conversations. God therefore above all others exercises them in afflictions and by hands on all sides, that they, which are next to Christ the head of his Church, might be the most like, and conformable unto him, and this not for themselves alone, but for the Churches sake, for whom alone they are what they are, so having by all wayes taught them that they might so teach others. Paul preacheth much out of his afflictions to all Churches and persons in particular; and our Saviour enjoyns this on Peter. Luke 22.32. Strengthen, non oratione tantum, ut ego pro Te discipulo, sed exhortatione, &c. ut Apostolus, ut frater lapsus, &c. Not by prayers and intercessions only, as I have interceded for thee my disciple and member; but by experimental observations and exhortations gathered out of thy severall conditions: and indeed then is truth most savory to the Preacher and hearer, then seasonable, and commonly effectuall, when we set our seals, to the certainty of it.

I the Author hereof the unworthiest of any of Gods
servants

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servants, the weakest of all his Labourers should appear yet more unworthy and weak, did he hide any thing of the Councell of God from his people revealed to him by his word or works; or should he not exercise and improve his improvements for his Church; or should he hide a talent so precious and refined, or should he not bring forth some more full and seasonable fruit by his prunings as well as his manureings, and if this fruit prove pleasant, and healing to thee, as to him, both may magnifie that gracious and overruling skill and wisdom of the Almighty Father, that beyond the intensions of Satan, or carnall men should produce such eminent good out of such desperate evils: And if this contribute to the good but of one Christian, he shall make use of that of his Author, ego nec labi & errare non posse solum fateor, sed debere: it behoved him, though not became him to erre; it was good for him, that he was afflicted; it was good for thee, that he offended.

Lip. præfat.
prolit. libr.

It concerns him therefore, Christian reader, who hath been enlightened in the Kingdom of Christ, and hath been partaker of the sufferings of that Kingdom in these late sad times to acquaint thee with the occasion of his writing, and the reason of the manner of his writing.

The occasion of it is to discharge his duty in reference to thy safety, which he desires to do with the free minde, and fuller affection in as much of those various censures the author expects to be cast on him being once of another judgement: not that in any respect he would labour to preach, or censure any dissenting brother, but in the Spirit of meekness, and tender compassions beseech

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b. seeth him from what is written. and by his example to return into a sound and quiet minde: his Gods mercy to beat thee on other mens backs, and to hold their light to thy feet; whereto as to the hand of God the author not only willingly submits, but is thankfull that he is a se. vant of thine; and therefore he that blushed at the Commission, glorys in the discovery of his infirmities.

*Such was his evil as to over look and slight Govern-
ment in the hands of persons, that might miscarry in
the obtaining or managing of their power: for Govern-
ment still remains an Ordinance of God, and requires
due and lawfull obedience, as thou mayst read at large
in the treatise. It was the infirmity if David to fret
and be peevishly affected to see persons ungodly (in
judgement or practice) to flourish in an uninterrupted
peace, wealth & honour: it becomes such whose judgments
varie from them (yet not able undoubtedly to search
forth the wayes of Gods judgements) quietly to waite, Mat. 2.
God will speak: to stand still and be still, if they
mean to see his salvation: and sure it is, that a soft and
lingring hope with a firm faith opens to the fruition of
promises. St. Hierom. Speaking to that of Jer. 9. 11.
I think toward you thoughts of peace: therefore
pray for peace, ut deus captivitatis finē, & patientiā
præsentium laborum seu spem futurorum. That I
the Lord might give ending to your captivity, and in
the mean time patience under your present bondages,
and hopes for future happineses. God prepares for mer-
cies by such gracious dispositions, and thou sees that he
that makes the most hast, is oft the furthest off: and
hence it followes, that this impatient and boiling pas-*

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1 Chron. 18.
and 19. cap.

considers a man upon an inconsiderate compliance and confederacy with ungodly persons, to oppose that Government they so maligne, of whose ungodliness the incessant series of providences most eminently exercised against them might much convince thee and cautionate thee (as it should have done the author) that thou associate not with them, lest the same judgement watch over thee, as it hath done them: this was the failing of Jehoshaphat, whom God suffered to joyn with and assist the wicked Ahab, an haier of the faithfull, a man given by himself to sin, and given by the Lord to judgement: for which afterwards he was sharply reprov'd, and then had like to have falln under the same curse by his unadvised conjunction.

And according to the nature of these the Authors sinfull practices, did God prepare and proportion his troubles as for the materiall part of his affliction: they were not so great in themselves, as in the sence of them; which could not contain such weight, such bitterness, and pinching straightnesse, but it must arise from the stopping of the dayly confluence and supply of strength from the Lord. And hence often times became his heart straightened and shrou up towards God in his greatest necessities, and hence flowed in tumultuous confusions, that when he would gather his soul the closest to God to refresh himself but a little, he could not, and what he received then was thorow great intermissions: and this way of affliction is not usuall with God: multiply his servants troubles, but that the practices much displeased him: its far better, an safer for a Christians sins to be searched out by the word, then by afflictions; that the conscience should be more kindly and sweetly awakened

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awakened by the voice of Christ, then by the lightnings and thunders of his irrefragable corrections: among all these waves of God (besides his domestical sufferings) the author was much tost, yet sunk not: and if sunk, he hath left thee, Christian reader, this treatise as the top-mast of a minde more troubled, then his person, to teach thee to avoid those dangerous passages of life, into which thy weaker, and lesse skillfull brother hath fallen: and herein be advertised that though no afflictions arise but from a just cause within us yet thou takest heed, lest thou a year eminently instrumentall therein, that so they may attend more glorious triall, then thy correction. And while God is chastising take heed then of sinfull deviations, and pervarications, lest then thou thicken the cloud over the face of God, by the light of whose presence, thou must then be guided and supported, unlesse inevitably thou perishest in them. And as thou shouldest not suffer as an evil doer, so take heed thou fallst not into the same snare with evil doers, walk not thily before them, but have no fellowship with them, walk not in their way, sit not in their counsels. Have reverent thoughts of them that are in authority, whether their power be originall, or derived: whatsoever their power be, and whosoever hath the administration thereof observe God in it (as he is in all things, and more apparenly in such) whereby it may be sanctified unto thee: thou mayst glorifie God in it, love the Governours, pray for them, study their peace, and be able to appeale to thy heart for approvement of the sincerity of thy desires herein: such a disposition is no lesse honourable, then comfortable. Lay down the spiritual weapons of a sinfull warfare, as pride, covetousness,

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*revenge, &c. Sweet sins, but cannot be fed without the ruin, or disquiet of thy brother ; its a most vain thing for two parties to strive for superiority, to raise factions to divide, and occasion a strife hereunto , when both have deserved well ; better it is to suffer injury by an equall, then by striving to injure both ; which as Saint James saith, arises from, and nourishes our lusts only. Themistocles the Governor of Athens, as *Ælian*, seeing two cocks fight most earnestly for life and death, said ; they fight neither for household goods, their country, parents, children, nor friends, sed ne alter ab altero superetur : that one might not be above another ; and thus it is with many men, though otherwise be their pretences : Ambition, Self-interest, Maliciousnesse, are never good as causes, directors, or ends : nay its safe, honest, our duty sometimes, (where it may stand with a good conscience) to let fall the right of one side, rather then to endanger the safety and right of all : and herein Christian reader, thou seest the occasion to stretch out it self as much to thee, as to the author ; its for thy sake, and for those ends he writes this small treatise for thee ; which the God of peace make usefull to thee.*

*As to the manner of his writing ; its somewhat Sy-
storicall and that is most apt for discourse, magnis ex-
emplis edocti : we love to tread in others steps, especi-
ally in doubtfull, and difficult times ; we see, as of old,
the whole nation modeling themselves in habit, manner,
language, and Religion into the form of their supe-
riors ; that if we should go to the most of people and ask
them as Christ did the Pharisees, whose image and
supercription is this, that is on your conversation,
profession, &c. It might easily be returned, its the image*

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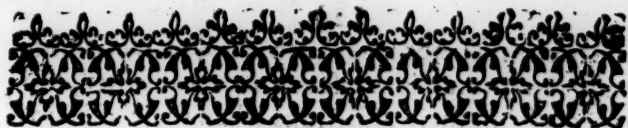
of our Ruler, and the superscription of his Ordinance; and hence it is we are so subject to mutations: but it ought not to be so with Christians, their manners & lives ought alwayes to be the same, because they have the same rule and way to walk by, an incorruptible word, an eternall truth, and everlasting law, that has been in all ages; the same that Christ the King made and lived by, of whom the Primitive Church was a severe and close follower. I have set down those that are the most noble examples and worthy patternes of such as saw Christ in the flesh, and multitudes of Christians who were their disciples also; that so thou mayst see their fashion of old, what was the practice and manners of ancient Christians living under Kings, Governors, and all kinds of government, and changes of government, even such as first laid the foundation of the church; first labourers in the vineyard of Christ, and watered it with their blood; and all the blood shed so abundantly fell like oil upon the ground, softly and quietly: those are them worthy of our imitation, as Heb. 2. 12. 1. Wherefore seeing we also are compassed, &c. Quid praeclarius (saith his author) quam ipsa Christiana Ecclesiae quasi incunabula pervidere, in quibus producta à christo, ejus verbo ab Apostolis nutrita, suisque progressionibus usa, pedetentim crevit, venitque ad summum quid pulchrius — quam illa tempora intueri in quibus Hegesippus Ecclesiam castam & incorruptam virginem memorat? Assuredly, Christian reader, thou wouldst desire these times to be like them when the Church was in her purity, and the spouse of Christ unde filed; herein is presented somewhat of them to thee, for if the author mistake

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Take not, the utmost example survives not 60. years
or much more after Christ, whose funeralls and ascension
the Church was yet freshly celebrating: and the Christi-
ans in those times we read exactly following this Aposto-
lical Canon, Let supplications, prayers, &c. Then
whom we ought to follow none with greater ambition
and emulation. And its his desire, that Magistrates
like the highest boughs of the goodliest trees might
be the most fruitfull, and bowing themselves down with
the abundance thereof might let fall their ripe fruits
into the subjects lap, who does so plentifully water them
with their prayers, and tears; that the Lord according
to our desires would rain down peace and righteousness
thorow the Magistrate, which we may gratefully re-
ceive, and conscientiously employ and improve to the
Common good,

Who is thine in the Lord.

J. R.



THE
Christian Subject:
OR,
A Treatise directing Christians to a
Conversation futable to their Calling:
And
Resolving those common Objections

OR { *Heresy,*
Vsurpation,
Tyranny,
Breach of Covenant.

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, bee made for all men: for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty: for this is good, and acceptable in the sight, &c.

CHAP. I.

PA LU writes these two Epistles to Timothy, whom he oft salutes with the appellation of Son; and this first Epistle hee writes to Timothy *his own son*, as if he was naturally begotten by him; but such cannot bee
C the

the meaning: nor meerly an *adopted son*, whose affections mutually ran forth one to another, and especially in their afflictions when their affectionate assistances and services were so great, as if they were betwixt father and son. But he is a *son* in a *spirituall sence*, and *Paul* was so his father, not in that *common sence* begotten by him in the second birth of Regeneration, wherein hee styles himselfe father frequently in other of his Epistles, and wherein he was a fruitfull parent, fitting the house of God with a numerous offspring of gracious children; but I say in this sence hee was not his father, it being more then conjecturall, that *Timothy* was a true Belcever before hee knew *Paul*, and that those gracious principles and first seeds of grace were early sown in him by the carefull education & instruction of his pious parents, as it appears by those passages of *Paul* in these Epistles, wherein he in-mindes him of those hopefull presages of him from his ripening infancy, 1 Epist. 1. 18. *This Charge I commit, &c.* and in the 2 Epist. 1. 5. *when I call to remembrance &c.* and 3. 15. *and that from a child, &c.* But he was a son *ex parte* or *ex parte* to the preaching of the Gospel, and Doctrin of Faith; though a Brother and fellow Labourer in the work of the Ministry with *Paul*, yet a Son too in the *Ministerial Office*, whom first he begot and set apart unto that Calling, as 2 Epist. 1. 6. *Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, &c.* and having so begotten him

him, he accordingly educates him, sets him his particular charge, where and over whom he was to exercise his gifts, and for which he would call him to account: and being so disposed of, he sends unto him, as his sonne, these Epistles, not only to testify his paternal affection, but his care also, that hee might not want sufficient directions and encouragements to strengthen and enable him how he should worthily deport himselfe in that place, like a son of *Pauls*, and a Father in the Church; whose example, & fatherly precepts here are laid before him: and in this respect and relation *Paul* writes unto him, as the generall scope of the Epistles evidences to us. And in particular

First, He proposes some things by way of caution, concerning some False-teachers, or some that would be Teachers, who having found out some new and curious Doctrin, at once would be the Inventers and Patrons of it; as also concerning backsliders from the true Faith; and concerning fore-ridden hearers, that could no longer endure sound Doctrin, and of high-witted, boasting, and verball professors, that practised and professed themselves polemical, critical, and much historicall in Divinity, as you may read in the beginning of this Epistle, and severall other touches sprinkled up and down the Epistles.

Secondly, Hee prescribes some positive Rules by way of Injunction, and Exhortation, as an Apostle and Minister of Jesus Christ, to *Timothy* a

Servant to the same Master, and in the same Work. And

First, this is more generall: charging him to Constancy and Courage, verse 18. chap. 1. *This Charge &c.—that thou mightest, &c.* be as a stout Souldier in this thy Calling general and particular, both being so much for the glory of Christ, as a Christian, as a Minister. No good warfare unlesse it be *ad victoriam*, every Christian must be a Conqueror: How he is a Conqueror that is constant, v. 19. *holding, &c.* he overcomes that is not overcome, *sperans—certus de premio, si vincat, certus se victurum, si perseveret*, being sure of reward, if he overcomes; and as sure to overcome, if hee endures. Hee that suffers death for the Faith under a Persecuter, overcomes as well as he that converts Souls, destroyes the holds of Sin and Satan, confutes Hereticks, &c. so long as he makes not a voluntary shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience, thorow the windes of Heresy, and stormes of Persecution, though at length the bottom sinke, that frail Tabernacle of his flesh bee wasted in the fire, or devoured of wilde beasts, yet he hath *fought a good fight*, hee hath *warred a good warfare*.

Secondly, In this Chapter hee begins to lay down more special and particular directions how he should carry himselfe in his speciall Function, as a Minister. *I Exhort therefore, &c.*

In these verses observe,

1 The circumstantiall parts

1 A rational Inference, *Therefore.*2 Of Order, *First of all.*

2 The materiall parts, wherein

1 The duty laid down in charge expressed in many words, *Supplications, Prayers, &c.*

2 The Subject for whom this duty is to be performed;

1 At large, *All men.*2 More strict, For Magistrates, and them, *Kings, or others: all that are, &c.*3 The end of this duty, which is threefold; a strong inducement to Prayer, *That wee, &c.*4 The Arguments to move them hereunto, taken from him to whom wee offer up these Prayers, v. 3. *For this, &c.* And from them for whom we do pray, v. 4. *Who will have &c.*

CHAP II.

WE shall first explain these words distinctly, then deduce from thence the intended conclusions with what plainnesse and clearnesse wee can.

1 Of the circumstantiall parts of this exhortation. And

First, of the inference, *Therefore*, this word causeth us to reflect on the precedent verses, where they seem to have their dependency. The

holy Apostle layes on *Timothy* this charge, that he would *war a good warfare* as a Minister of the Gospel, as a good Souldier of Christ, as a Captain going before the people, *keeping Faith and a good Conscience*: and that he might advance this Gospel he ought to seek the peace, and protection of it, that so he might prosper in this his Warfare; and that he might not only preserve himselfe, but by his Ministry enlarge the Territories of Christ, increase in his work, and gather upon the adversaries of it; and that he might not only keep a good Conscience undefiled in himselfe, but in his place discharge it aright, he exhorts him in the publick Office of the Ministry, in their publick meetings for Prayer, Preaching, and Dispensation of any Ordinances belonging to his Calling, to *pray for all men, &c. I Exhort thee therefore.*

2 Of the circumstance of Order, *First of all.*

Which First, if it hath reference to the Order of *Pauls* directions and precepts, then it signifies *Pauls* special care of this Duty, that it might not be neglected, or slightly performed; but sets it in the front of all, *First of all*, as if *Paul* should require *Timothy* to have a chiefe regard and care hereto.

Secondly, if it hath reference to this very Exhortation it selfe, then it sets forth unto us

1 The excellency of the Duty, that it is a chief duty, and above all things however, neglect not this.

2 The

2 The season of its performance, begin with this, *First of all* in your meetings take your beginning from God, seek to him by prayer, testify your dependencies on him, and all your references unto him; and amongst others pray for those men. *Timothy* a publick person in his publick Office must pray for publick persons, and all persons; not to exclude other seasons, but then principally, for then a Minister of the Gospel in Christs stead is to imitate Christ the high Priest of all; as the Priests under the Law did prefigure and type out Christ herein, *cujus est munus* *veritas* *et* *vis* *et* *potestas*, whose Office it was to offer for the Errors, and ignorances of the people; Prayer now being our sacrifice, wee must offer for them unto God in Christ.

Prayer then is of an ancient institution, under Law and Gospel: it is an Ordinance of continuance till our prayers shall be turned into praises, our wishes into fruitions, and resemblances into reall participations in the presence of God, and of the Lamb. *Abel* began with sacrifice, wherein was the prayer of his heart; *Timothy* must begin with Prayer, which is the sacrifice of the heart.

Prayer also must introduce all our works; as in publick duties, wee especially come in Gods presence both in the intention and preparation of the heart, and in the promise of God, so by prayer we are brought stil nearer to God, and God to us; and makes us as fit to entertain God into us, as
God

God ready to bestow himselfe, or any mercy (suitable to that Ordinance in hand) upon us: *qui bene orat, bene laborat*, he that prayes well, shall speed wel: he that sets on his business with prayer hath already done the best part of it. Wee must therefore first pray, then preach; first pray, then study, first pray then hear, &c. Prayer is the generall preface to all our actions, and as Christ teacheth us to pray *thus*, Paul bids us to pray *this*; to put up, or *make supplications, prayers, &c.* Wherein is expressed

I The duty it self enjoyed, expressed in four words, *Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks*. Some would have these words synonimous, others to be particularly significant, and surely they may have the latter sense, and carry with them severall Directions, or in generall include the method of Prayer.

Supplications; the word *dehous* signifies wants as well as supplications, *dehous ou*, so *dehous Blu*, so that by supplication you may understand deprecation against evils incumbent or imminent; the prayers of a necessitated person for the removal or prevention of evils spiritual or temporal, feared or felt.

Πρωχαι, *Prayers*, you may understand them for petitions for good spirituall, or temporall, *αυτς ευχαι*, according to a mans wish, such as are promised of God, and could be wished for of ourselves, as conducing to our happinesse; or they

are desirers for the restoring of good things lost, a continuance of present good, or confluence of more good.

Ἐντεύξεις, *Intercessions*, or intermediating prayers, which more properly are put up for others, and so all these severall kinds of prayers are intercessions: yet it signifies more, prayers of fervency and familiarity, when we are most inward and bold with God, expostulating and pleading with him, which usually is more for others then our selves, either for pardon, or the removing of some misery.

Εὐχαριστίας, *Thanksgivings*, a returning of mercies by the same mouth and heart that begged them; which is commonly for simple and unmixed blessings conferred on us, or evils removed from us.

And if the words carry not fully the sence of these significations as they may do, *Ephes. 5. 18.* then they do more fully expresse the substance of this duty, and the severall parts of it; to presse it more effectually on us, and to prevent the manifold evasions of the flesh in the too frequent neglect of it.

And here you read all the words in the plurall number, *let Supplications, Prayers, &c.* not a prayer, a petition, &c. to teach us that wee must bee uncessant, and constant in this duty, not to pray once, but oft: wee must make prayers for them, and all kinds of them as opportunity presents it selfe to us.

D

And.

And further it teacheth us, that a publick prayer, is not a single prayer, but it is prayers, a prayer involving prayers; for though one man speaks the prayer, yet there be as many prayers put up, as there be persons joyning with him.

Again, as here we see the perpetuation of this Ordinance, so we see not a limitation to any form, no not to the Lords Prayer, (most excellent and comprehensive in it self, and therefore ought the more wisely and cautiously to be used) which expresses not this precept: only here the Apostle requires us that in all our prayers, especially in publick, which are to be the most plain and large, wee should not forget but seriously and piously seek for the good of those persons: and me thinks there is something in the words that might hint this to us, *mens, be made: let prayers be made for them.* Prayers are not made for us, but wee make prayers for them; we, that is, the Spirit of God in us, teacheth us to form and make prayers for them. Thus much for the duty barely considered.

Secondly, concerning the subjects for whom this must bee performed, and they are

1 In generall laid down, *for all men*: that is, all kinds and sorts of men Ministers ought to pray for, and all sexes are included under it, *and pious*, not *and pious*, yet not peremptorily, but submitting to the good pleasure, ordination, and decree of God; for, for some of them prayer shall
not

not bee effectuall. Yet wee pray for all, for these reasons,

First, because wee know not to whom mercy does belong, and if wee should not pray beyond the certainty of our knowledge, wee should pray for none.

2 Because the promise is indifferently made to all, none by name excepted, nor Jew nor Gentile, none of us have ever seen the book of life, to see whose names are written there and whose are not; wee ought then to pray for as many as are in Christ, and for whom the promise is sufficient: and as no outward estate makes persons more acceptable, so none more derestable.

3 Because the will of God is, 1. indifferently to confer his outward blessings on all men, unjust as well as just; and all as creatures have a right to them, and he as Creator does dispense them to his creatures: then for outward blessings we may begge for the unrighteous as well as the holy. 2 To shew grace to many sinners we should judge past hope, and have given up as lost and reprobates: there is none now so vile, but the Lord has shewed mercy to as vile; then for ought that thou knowest, God may so deale with such and such, and it would reflect sadly on thy spirit hereafter to see them glorious lights, whom thou hast condemned to utter darknesse, nor would ever afford them thy prayers, see v. 4. of this text.

4 Because the tenders of grace from a Gospel-

Minister ought to bee generall and indifferent; sure our prayers ought to be as large as our tenders, and what wee endeavour for, wee ought to pray for.

5 It is laid down here in command.

Object. But can prayers, will some say, hasten the day of conversion to the Elect, or do the reprobated sinner any good? will it protract this mans punishment, or properate this mans happinesse? will it alter any thing of the counsell of God towards his creature?

Sol. No, of it selfe it can do nothing, but as subordinate to the will of God, who gives what and when we aske, who can give without asking.

First, we pray for the bringing in of the Elect, whose times neverthelesse are prefixed of the Lord for these reasons,

1 Hereby wee joyne and agree with the Counsell of God, and his determination; we approve, affect and rejoyce in the purpose of God towards such, and we that once shall give Testimony to the execution of the Decree, to our power in present we seal to it.

2 Herein wee striye not to alter any time of Gods, but shew by prayer our dependance on God in the use of means till that time: though hee hath determined it in his secret Will, yet wee must use means in reference to the execution of that Will, one of which is prayer.

3 Hereby we discover that spirituall sympathy
with

with the whole body of Christ, which every true member ought to have, not only with the distressed members of Christ, already believing, but with the darknesse, the hardnesse, the infidelity, that dishonour Christ now receives by such, that are actually enemies to God, and yet belong to the Election of Grace. When in publick Ordinances wee meet about the salvation of our own Souls, we are not so much taken up with them, but we think on, and long after the salvation of others; we mourn over their present condition, nay wee rejoyce in the expectation of the day of their conversion, *Cant.* 8.8. there is the disposition of a true member of Christ, a childe of the Spouse of Christ.

Secondly, We pray for the reprobate, yet not knowing who they are, whether this or that person be in such an estate,

1 To testifie a liknesse of affection betwixt God and us: hee desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that hee might repent and live, and so wee desire not the confusion of any, but that, if it were the good pleasure of God, that they might be converted, and saved; *thus wee are mercifull as our heavenly Father is mercifull.*

2 It is for the glory of our Profession, in the real witnessing of our true tenderness of affection over and towards poor sinners: this is one glorious beam shining from the children of light, in whom the love of Christ is shed, and might some-

what convince the ungodly of the world, could they but see, or had hearts sensible of themselves, or that sence others have of them.

3 For the encouragement of sinners, that they might see how large the grace of Christ is, and the sufficiency of it even for them if they had faith to receive it; and that it is not only to be tendered to them, but begged for them: that they might perceive how open the loving armes of the Spouse of Christ are, how ready to receive any sinner into communion with her, did he believe.

4 For manifest clearing of the justice of God at last, and to leave the sinners without excuse, when such offers and means have been used to reclaim them, and yet they persist against the truth; not only the sufferings, but the actions of his people shall be a testimonie against them, even especially against such that persecutes them that prays for their happinesse, that wils and labours for their Salvation, *Matth. 10. 18.*

Thirdly, admit wee know not on whom our prayers shall take effect, no not of them that are Elected, nor on whom first, nor whether we shall live to behold the returns of them: yet it is enough that the Lord requires it of us, let us believe and obey, let us bee content to lay up our prayers in the Treasury of God for future ages, for them we have never seen, nor shall ever see in the flesh. Admit they take no effect on them, we shall not lose the comfort and reward of them,

Isa. 49. 5. Sat est, quod ille jubet, do as the Lord bids thee, its sufficient that hee commands thee. If we enquire for reason, we shall oftentimes finde as little for our obedience, as for our Faith: The Lord tells his people, and in them us, *Deut. 29. 29. the revealed thing is in the Text, pray for all men*, but the particular persons on whom our prayers shall sweetly fall, is a *secret*, leave that to God, to effect in his time, which if wee see, then we shall rejoyce, if not, we should bee content. Thus much for the duty and subjects in generall.

CHAP. III.

NOW follows the subjects more strictly considered, for whom in speciall, and individually wee ought to pray for, or for whom more chiefly and above others, *primum specialius, nominatim*, we ought to pray, *For Kings, and all that are in Authority*.

First, here is a subject in the most strict consideration, set out by his particular Office, King: *for Kings*. To open this, we shall resolve you,

I What were those Kings then for whom they were to pray.

I For their government, they were tyrannicall Monarchs, that Lived and Ruled according to their Will, who had no prescript, boundary, or moderation: and though they might have certain Customs, Priviledges, Constitutions and Prescrip-

Prescriptions by which they judged in their severall Places and Courts of Jurisdiction, yet even them they infringed at pleasure, especially towards Captives and Aliens. These were absolute Sovereigns, who made, abrogated, suspended, and altered their own Laws at pleasure; and this appears by their practise in sacred Writ, and other Histories: Their government was not mixt as ours have bin, nor their Kings subject to bounds and accounts as ours were.

2 For their right of Government, it was little or none; pure *Nymrods*, that hunted and thirsted after victory and subduing Nations to their command, in whom they had no title nor interest; and accordingly did severall Kingdomes arise and beare sway in the world; sometimes the *Assyrian*, *Græcian*, *Roman*, &c. had their successions of usurped commands by the Sword, as the *Turk* hath now, and far greater: and accordingly did they maintain their Power, even by the Sword amongst the *Jewes*, *Christians* and Infidels; they seldom questioned title & interest, but power, and strength; and had under them their petty Kings, or Vice-Royes, *præfetti*, &c. created out of their own favorites and souldiers for the most part.

3 For their Religion, they were Hethens and Idolaters, cruel persecutors sometimes of *Jew* and *Christian* together, sometimes of one alone: some full of Covetousness, Luxury, Cruelty, satisfyng themselves in the blood of their own kindred,
and

and nearest relations. These things are apparent partly by Scripture, and to any ordinary Reader of Ecclesiasticall and Praphane History; and yet even these must poor Christians suffering under them pray for.

Secondly, Why Kings specified by name.

1 Because at that time it was the most generall Government in the World, though in some places otherwise : and not only then, but even from the beginning Monarchy hath been the Government, and that more Ancient in its Originall and of greater continuance amongst the Heathens, then such as worshiped the true God : and whether it was because they did not so much need it, or that it was not so excellent a Government, I leave to others to determine.

2 Because many *Christians* might scruple praying for such Persons, being of such lives and judgments, that were enemies to them and all that were good. Sure if *Christians* then had been of the *Popes* minde, they had cursed them to death, delivered them over to *Satan*, in stead of praying for them : nay, if they had been of that spirit *Peter* was sometimes of, they would have called for fire from Heaven, and sent them to Hell in a flame, rather then called for a blessing on them and their Government; and they would judge it a bootlesse thing in it selfe for them, and unacceptable to God. But the Apostle here resolves them and directs them unto this duty, not

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By way of Policie but Conscience, as a Christian Duty indeed; *Pray for Kings*, those Kings, no Kings being excepted.

Secondly, Now as concerning the subject lesse restrained, *ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑποτάξει ὄντων* This is not so large as the first, that is, to pray for all men, yet larger then the second, that was only for Kings, this being for all that have any *eminent place*, or that are in *Authority*: which is not to be restrained to the substitutes of Kings, and their Officers alone, which have only a deputed Power, though these it may respect, such as are in Scripture named Governours, Rulers, being placed by the supream Magistrate in Places of trust and government under him; but this hath reference still to the supream Magistrate, whom we ought chiefly to pray for, that the blessing of God may first fall upon that head, and thence run down to the very skirt. Pray for all that are in Authority, whether you call them Kings, Consuls, or of any other kinde of Government, that you Christians shall live under, or that shall be placed over you, whether you call it Monarchy, or Aristocracy, or Democracy. For as wee know, there was not at that time one only kinde of Government, nor that kinde was of any long continuance, especially among the *Romans*, who then were the glory of the World, and now ruled over the *Jewes*, *Grecians*, and under whom were begun many Churches of Christ. Wee see
how

how oft the Government of the *Romans* changed, six times from the Originall. So the *Grecians*, changed much after the death of *Alexander*, some had Kings, some were *Aristocratians*, others *Democratians*, as at *Arbens*, *Peloponesus*, *Lacedemon*, &c. and even in *Greece* there were many flourishing Churches of God, and they were planted early, and were to pray for such as had the administration of Government, be they what they would; here, as no Kings are excepted, so no Authorities, no Governments. For the further clearing of this, in the resolving of certaine doubts and queries, is afterwards undertaken.

Thirdly, the end of this Duty, in reference to this life, to that estate wherein wee live under them, *That wee might lead a quiet*, &c. from whom we sue for these blessings.

1 *Peace*, that is first set down, because it is the common ingredient that makes sweet all things, strengthens and increases them; it is the ground work of all other happinesse; this is externall peace and quietnesse wee pray for, and therein against all forraign Invasions, and intestine Commotions, against all Oppressions and unjust Taxations, whereby the peace of the subject is broken, or an occasion and ground laid for its breach.

2 *Godlinesse*, a peacable life lead, *is necessary in all godlinesse*, all kindes of it, in the publick profession of it, and in the priyate pra-

Rise of it: but as the word carries it, and the scope of the Apostle writing to a Minister, it intends for publick Worship, in the countenancing of Religion by Authority, in Ministers and People, in reference to their ordinary communion in Ordinances, which could not be procured without the supreme Magistrate; pray then for this, that with your power you may have the truth and way of Christ protected, you not forced to Idolatry, &c. else your peace would bee unpleasant.

3 *Honesty*, that is, in common commerce and fellowship with others; *καταβολή*, that the age might not be so licentious wherein we live, as to abuse them that are Religious in their Callings, Families, Name and Persons; that there be not a toleration of lewd persons: but that the Governors may be such, whose Lawes may afford them honest dealing with men, even Hethens, that themselves, their wives and children, might comfortably enjoy, and make use of their own.

Lastly, the argument to provoke us hereunto, is from the acceptation of the Duty, *νόμος δὲ καλός, &c.* This. What? not that peace afforded to you through the Magistrates care, though that be acceptable: but this Duty conscionably performed by you for the Magistrate. This is comely, beautiful (as the word is used) in the sight of God. Mark in whose sight, *God our Saviour, Iesus Christ*; he that died for you, and hath called you with

with an holy Call unto this Estate; he that hath made you members of his body, and takes notice of you in all conditions, especially under such Kings & eminent Persons, that would make you sufferers for your profession: hee delights to see you at such times so graciously affectionated as to pray for them; hee sees you then with an eye of acceptation, and approbation as well as of discrimination; what greater engagement can be laid upon a heart prizing the love of God, desirous to walk worthily before him, and even in such times to have this testimony in him, that hee pleases God.

And mark, v. 4. that rationall ground *Paul* layes to prove, that such prayers are acceptable; because they are according to the will of God: for they labour to draw out the mind and will of God to act for souls yet in darknesse, and unbelieveing. Our Saviour would have all saved; that is, some of all Estates, some Kings, and Governors, some of the highest Authority, as well as other subjects. His blood is ransom sufficient to redeem the most considerable slave Satan hath; and he is able by the evidence of Gospel to evince the strongest reasonings of flesh and blood. Why may not this man prove a *Paul*? this *Trajan* prove a *Ioseph*? why may not some of these *All* be here where I live, and under whose shaddow I in peace lie down? However, whether they belong to the Election of God, yet the duty is accepta-

ble it selfe, and it was done not only in reference to the command revealed, but to the execution of the secret will of God to such, which might extend to these particular men in this present Authority over him: and if it did, and these persons became true believers, they should be sure to obtain the generall and main ends of their desires, liberty to lead a *peaceable and quiet life, &c.*

Thus you have the Text laid open by way of exposition before you; that part of it, whereof we intend to make further use, is more briefly considered in present; the conclusions here properly issuing are laid down in the next Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

HERE is directly set forth a *Christian-Subjects* Duty, and by proper consequence a *Christian-Magistrates* Duty. 1 the *Subject Christians* Duty is to pray for the supream Magistrate in order to Peace, Religion, and Civility. 2 the *Ruling-Christians* Duty is as apparent, for what wee ought to seek of God to be conveyed to us by the Magistrate, as the next & most fit means, we may expect as their duty to labour to the utmost to confer on us Christians, viz. to Govern in Peace, to promote and protect Godliness professed by them, to guard their Persons, & Estates from the injurious dealings of lewd Persons, that are the notorious enemies of Peace and Holiness;

Holineſſe ; that ſo through their watchfulneſſe and care the ſubje&t might be delivered from ſuch feares and troubles as are incident to them through a looſe and tyrannicall Government.

Fiſt, then let us look into our own duty, which is to ſeek of God for ſpirituell and temperall bleſſings to be poured forth upon the ſupream Magiſtrate, what ever he be ; and of all under him or them acting in the ſame Government, that *Peace* may be eſtabliſht, *Godlineſſe* advanced, *Honeſty* maintained. To diſcuſſe this plainly, we ſhall draw it forth into theſe propoſitions.

1. That the diſpoſition, and inward frame of a Chriſtian ſhould be for a Peaceable, Godly and Honeſt life.

2. That the people of God under any Government whatſoever may be deprived thereof.

3. That prayer is a probable meanes to recover a broken Peace, Religion, and Liberty.

4. That under all Governments whatſoever this ſhould be the pra&tice of a true *Chriſtian-Subje&t*, to pray for them.

As to the fiſt: *that the inward temper and diſpoſition of a Chriſtian ſhould be Peaceable, Godly and Honeſt* ; his inward thoughts and affections ſo qualified. The heart is the fountain of deſires, out of the abundance of it we ſpeak ; therefore that we pray for (according to the Apoſtles precept) ſhould be ſincerely affected, and delighted in by the ſoul, if it could be obtained by prayer ; The things

things sought for are *Peace, Holinesse, Honesty*; let these words be the genuine, and true resemblances of the soul, and inward man, which ought so to be, as shall appeare in particular, that such a frame is Evangelicall.

First for *Peace*. A *Christians minde is inclined to peace*; what the soul truly desires for others, it affects for himselfe; it desires peace, pardon, quietnesse for others, even unbelievers: The more mortified sin is in a Christian, the more quiet and peaceable are his affections, the more humble, selfe-denying, &c. which are great promoters of peace. The *Apostle* puts the question and resolves it. *Iam. 4. 1. Whence, &c.* Those lusts are commonly covetousnesse, ambition, desire of revenge, discontent, which move the minde till it break out with lightning and thunder; but the more mortified these are, the more quiet and addicted to peace they are. We read in those Evangelicall promises of the Gospell, that they shall be at peace, all one and alike; how? the stout Lyon shall condescend to the meek Lamb, the greedy Beare shall be lead with a child, and the peevish Wasp shall be playd with. Where the sharp Thorn and Bryer grew, there shall the sweet Firre and Myrtle grow: here you may see a Gospel disposition; and sure it is, the more of a Gospel spirit is in them, the more of such graces, have they abounding in them. *Gal. 5.* what a nest of yiprous vices, the *Apostle* findes out in a
carnall

carnall man, *ver. 20, 21. witchcraft, hatred, variance, &c.* but the spirituall man is otherwise minded, having the Spirit of God ruleing in him, whose fruits *ver. 22. are love, peace, &c.* he must have this Spirit that can truly put up this prayer; and every one whose affections are thus qualified by the Spirit, will thus pray: and that his inter-nall qualifications are such, his generall conversation will witness, which is contemplative and monasticall, requiring a quiet retirement: that as God usually at such seasons appeares to his people, so his people will contrive such seasons (when their publique occasions seeme to deny them) that being the most removed from humane Societies, from their worldly employments, nay from themselves, they may solace themselves in some familiar converse, and communion with their God: I say that this is the generall frame of a true Christian, however at some time by some vio'ent temptation he may be transported into other carriages.

Otherwise you shall finde men unsound in their judgement to be unsafe in their practises, men restless in the truth to be restless in their wayes: nay men, otherwise good men, at once leaveing the pathes of Holinesse and Peace: We read in sacred Story of two persons notorious for Com-motions, and a third is added to them by a learned Historian: The first was one *Theudas*, that professed himselfe a Prophet, and amongst other

Acts 5. 37.
vide Joseph 1. 6
12. c. 1. & 12.

of his Figments, perswaded his followers that he could divide *Jordan*, for them to passe thorow, but these perished: The second was one *Iudas* a Galilæan, who with another (haply under pretence of oppression by Taxes) drew many discontented and loose persons into Sedition. *Eusebius* makes mention of a third, a certain Egyptian Prophet, who seduced and rayed into tumultuous Assemblies 30000 persons. After the death of Christ the Jewish Nation was seldom free from these turbulent spirits, heading the people in several parties and places, wherby many thousands of that peculiar Flock perished at several times, which though occasioned by their frequent and rebellious Insurrections, yet as a sad judgement were delivered up to such reprobate mindes as to be led by such persons to their ruine for murdering the *Lord of life*: and this was not perfect in that last and sad Seige of *Ierusalem*, but afterwards being dispersed into several Provinces thorow the Eastern part of the world. We likewise read, that the orthodox were so disquieted and troubled by the *Arians*, and other Heretiques, that they desired rather the habitations and society of Beasts, then of such inhumane Christians: *Tempore hæresium Arij & aliorum, plures fideles elegerunt vitam hermeticam, melius decernentes cum bestiis habitare in sylvis, quàm cum Arianis participare, &c.* Our late predecessors could re-
 tectify the late practices of the Anabaptists in
Germany,

Euseb. lib. 2.
 cap. 9. p. 24. sub
 Claudio A.
 Christi. 46.

Abbas Ioa-
 chim. in Apoc.
 P. 161.

Germany, enemies to Magistracy as well as Magistrates: and we their children can witnesse the sad Rebellion in *Ireland*, continuing till this day against their lawfull Authority, and their former Nationall Agreements, with most feral cruelty pouring forth the blood of the sucking Infant, and dear parent, *not respecting the persons of the Priests, nor favouring the Elders*, Lam. 4. 16. Neither have the Protestants in *Ireland* been the only subjects of that Papal Tragedy, *England* hath suffered much, and no marvel, their actions are but the issues of their affections, and their practices the fruits of their principles. And if wee but cast our eye upon the Hethen, wee shall finde the impatient Ambition of the subject, and the jealous Feares of their Princes, possessing and governing their Territories as they obtained them, to be such, that on each other they are continually acting their revengefull malice. So that this disposition that appeared early in the world, naturally abides in all men, of what profession soever, unlesse begotten again by the spirit of *Grace and Peace, to be partakers of another Kingdom*: And this might be illustrated by many singular Examples.

Secondly, for *Godlinesse*: This is his predominant quality, and the naturall discoverer of the person, that he is a hater of sin in himselfe, and a reprover of sin in others; *be that names the name of the Lord Iesus, let him depart from iniquity*:

so in the affirmative part, he is an universalist in the wayes of God, living *every where*, in all and every part of Gods worship: there is no path so straight but he can tread it, no Duty so spiritual that carries not the least rational probability of affording that fruit it offers to him, but he can continue its practice: this was the life, and support of David, that only then he should not be ashamed, when he had respect to all Gods Commandements. *Psal. 119. 6.* Up to this degree rose the resolution and intention of Cornelius, *Acts 10 33.* Now we are all present ——— wherein are two things worth our observation and imitation: 1 The instancy of Cornelius his obedience, immediately, he consulted not with man, nor with himselfe. 2. Haveing met; observe with what impartiality of affections he is furnished, he is prepared for a free entertainment of all the Commands of God: he requires not a reason for a command (the greatest depth of wisdom, grace, and sovereignty, lying in his meanest, and irrational Lawes) but being commanded, does it. Every Ordinance of Christ is of the like duration with the Law of God, which Law continued till another came in its room from the same Power & Authority that gave the first; (for God would not have an interval betwixt Government and Government, first pulling down one hedge and letting his Church lye wast till he hath built another; no, this becomes not his Wisdom and Care) who

who is only able to institute a new, that takes away the old: and sure it is, that that which is in present constituted, is to remain, till he be pleased expressly to abrogate this, as he did the former. And till then the heart of a Christian is equally affected to all, perswaded to walk thorow all, because all are of a like validity, till he shal be pleased to discharge him of any, that hath required all: for the private person to lay aside any one, or the publique person to take away their obliging Power is to divide, and share with God in his absolute rule over us: the tender conscience of a Christian will not admit him to distinguish of the Commands of God, but urges him still to a more full and perfect observance of them: and indeed, his heart is large enough to receive them all, though his feet be not swift enough to run them all. But this we must not make the chief of our Discourse.

Thirdly, For *Honesty*: What this is, the Orator Cicero, speaks, *Iustitia pars Honestatis, Righteousnesse is part of Honesty*; and that's most true betwixt man and man, as in our language Righteous dealing is Honest dealing, distributing to all men according to right: there is a *primo primum principium* in Nature that directs men to this, much stronger shou'd Gospel principles be in Christians: herein are comprehended all our Liberties, and good Lawes, in reference to Justice and Equity in Civill Commerce, & Commutations;

and this accords with the Gospel Rule by which every true Christian walks; 1 Thess. 4. 6, 7. *That no man goe beyond and defraud his Brother in any matter, because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we also have forewarned you and testified: for God hath not called us unto uncleannesse, but unto holinesse: where by holinesse is understood Externall Righteousnesse, the fruit of an holy heart. Rom. 13. 12, 13. The night is farre spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast off the works of darknesse, and let us put on the armour of light: let us walk honestly, as in the day. 1 Pet. 2. 11, 12. I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshy lusts, which warre against the soule: Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speake against you, as evill doers, they may by your good works which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation. In all which places we finde the forceablest argument to stirre them up to this Honest Conversation, is taken from their Calling, and that Faith they have embraced, as exceeding suitable unto it: indeed to question it, is to question our Humanity, much more our Christianity; for grant them the precedent disposition of Godlinessse, they must be Honest. And that in this respect I might present unto you the perfect complexion of Christians in the Primitive Times, I shall draw forth but a line or two out of the Testimony of *Plinius Secundus* Deputy Governour to*

Trajan

Trajan the Emperor, a persecutor of Christians; yet he acknowledged of them this Honesty and Justice; it is recorded of him thus: *Plinius Secundus qui inter Provinciarum Præfektos facile primus tulit, ingenti Martyrum numero magnopere commotus, de multitudine eorum qui quotidie erant pro Fide trucidati, Trajanum Imperatorem certiores faceret, allegans præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacris eorum comperisse, quam cætus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ac Deo, & ad considerandam disciplinam; homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, & cætera scelera prohibentes.* — And in another place thus: *Adulterium &c. & alia nefanda peccata, quæ sunt cum his aliquâ quasi cognatione conjuncta, vetant; & omnia quæ sunt Legibus congruentia sedulo exequuntur.* Herein you see the ancient fashion and image of true Christians, who by their lives declared the Law of God to be written in their hearts; and adde their actions as a living glosse of the Canons of the Gospel. Thus much of the first, a true Christians prompt inclination.

Euseb. lib. 3.
cap. 27. pag. 12.
Transl. Fox
Moru.

CHAP. V.

NOW to the second Proposition, That the people of God, notwithstanding their gracious disposition, may under any Government be deprived of their *Civill Peace*, the *free use of Gods Ordinances*, and *Common Liberties*: for as

one

Ecclesia in
roste vitæ pre-
sentis ubi va-
riantur status
temporalium,
comparatur
Lunæ, quæ
nunc clara,
nunc deserta,
nunc virtute,
& candore ple-
na, nunc pra-
vis dehonestat-
avitibus, in fu-
tura beatitudi-
ne, ubi idem
status erit, Sic et
Sol fulgeb. t.
N. Lyran. in
Cant. 6.

one saith, *the Church of God in this world is like the Moon, sometimes clear and beautifull, sometimes full of spots, sometimes full of vertue and power, at other times forsaken, and defiled with vice; only her estate hereafter shall be in glory like the Sunne, and remayn alwayes the same.* The Dragon, spoken of in the Revelations, rules and rages in the children of men, that drives the Church into the Wildernesse, where at once she is spoiled of all her comfortable priviledges, & enjoyments: to which we shall speak particularly.

First, for the deprivation of their *externall Peace*: Christ foretold us of a fellowship with him in his sufferings, and we know that his own Apostles were not exempted from them: he knew their ingenuity to torture his members by Banishments, Imprisonments, Corporall Infiictions, and to be so exquisite, that he would not promise them so much *Peace* and *Quietnesse* as the ravenous Fox, and wilde Beast does usually enjoy: therefore orders them to Flight in time of Persecution (this being in the infancy of the Church, that by their flight the beames of the Gospell might spread further) even from City to City. Wee read how farre the Saints of God under the old Church were from Peace, when they endured such variety of torments. *Heb. 11. 36, 37, 38. And others had tryall of cruell mockings and scourging: yea moreover, of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted*
were

were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheep skins, and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented: of whom the world was not worthy: they wandered in deserts, and in mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth. There is no History of the Easterne, or Westerne Churches that too plentifully abounds not with such-like examples; we need not enquire further then of our neighbour Countreys, *France, Netherlands, Scotland*, and our own, who will speake fully to this: and though the Church of God being restored to a flourishing estate, decked with Peace and Vnity, hath not so dealt with enemies, whose cruelty had deserved it, but in meeknesse, love, and favours, entreated them: yet when again they have regained their power, nothing would satisfy them, but the blood of Saints: not to reckon that inhumane recreation the Turk hath taken in the deaths of Christians, when he had satisfied his lust, then his malice; nor to mention that cruelty of old, which in men exceeded that in unreasonable and unsensible creatures; the miraculous acknowledgements of the Creatures, that they were the servants of the most high God, would not convince, nor abate the fury of those mad persecutors: who when the fire would not take hold on *Polycarp*, run him thorow with their swords, insomuch that his blood extinguished the fire: when the hungry beasts would not fasten upon *Blandina*, they cast

her into prison: But what need we speak of Hethens whose cruelty hath beene greater to a Christian not Idolizing, then to a Jew: we read of the intended cruelty of *Iulian* the Apostat; but now he becomes a Hethen in his Religion, and worse then usually any were in his cruell resolutions: We have them that beare themselves up as the only Church of God in this world, yet we read of their infernall plot against the *Parliament* of this Nation; their brutish usage of the poore Hethen in the *West-Indies*, our *Marian* persecution, the *Parisian* massacre, the *Irish* rebellion, examples unparaleld by Hethens. Let us consider of what Spirit the Arian is, and how he hath dealt with the Saints of God, when he hath sat in the Throne, and at the Sterne of Common-wealths, they have inflicted Banishment, Imprisonment, Death it selfe on them; We have them thus described by an Historian: *Arianismus totas orientis Ecclesias Antiochenam, Alexandrinam, Constantinopolitanam, Hierosolimitanam, expulsi orthodoxis, occupavit, atque occidente, ejecto in exilium Liberio, Felicem in Romanam sedem substituunt.* Even as Christ suffered by all Nations, so his members suffer by by all hands in all Nations, under all Governments: whatsoever the outward policy of people be, if their Rulers be bad, the Saints of God shall be disturbed, and persecuted: therefore we have many comparisons betwixt the ungodly of the world

Lyndan: Pa-
nop. lib. a. c. 16

world, and the people of God in Scripture: amongst many, these are called *Sheep, Vines*, the other are called *Lyons, Oakes of Bashan*, not only to signify the weaknesse of the one and the strength of the other, but the contrariety of their disposition: such difference hath been from the beginning, and such dealing shall the Church receive from the prevailing ungodly to the end of the world.

Secondly, As to the deprivall of the purity, nay the denyall of any enjoyment of the Ordinances, or exercises of Godlinesse in any part of the publique worship of God. It is to manifest how sadly the Church of God hath travailed herein many times, that not only the worship it selfe hath been destroyed, but the worshippers likewise, that upon the restauration of his worship, God hath undertaken a work almost equall to our creation to get servants. *Isa. 44. 3, 4, 5. I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they shall spring up as among the grasse, as willowes by the water courses: one shall say I am the Lords, and another shall call himselfe by the name of Jacob: and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himselfe by the name of Israel.* In *Elijahs* time there was none left that durst publickely acknowledge and embrace the Ordinances of God, inasmuch that the Prophet (who

should be best acquainted with the servants of God) thought they had been all backsliden: the same Church afterwards makes this her complaint, *Lam. 2. 9. The Law is no more, her Prophets also finde no vision from the Lord.* And the Prophet speaks of a company only left in secret, that durst privately talk of the Name of God, *Mal. 3. 16. Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a Book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his Name.* When Constantine the Great set upon and encouraged others to the work of Reformation, the multitude of the *Arians* was objected to him, as likely not to bee wrought upon, and so to hinder the work: he answered, *Non referre numerum magnum vel parvum, nam Iudeorum Ecclesia in Babylone constituta, ad tres pueros redacta fuit:* it mattered not whether the number of a Church were few or many, for the visible Church of the Jewes in *Babylon* was reduced to three, and we read of no more that withstood their impious Decrees in publique. And before his time, in persecutions of those Centuries, we finde that the publique places for Worship which some Heathens tolerated (by some pious Emperors erected) were subverted to the very foundation; and the maintenance of the Ministers thereof subtracted: and whether man or woman, Military or Civil, Magistrate or Sub-

ject

jeſu, if accuſed thus, *Chriſtianus eſt*, it was condemnation ſufficient : then to ſin, was to live; to be innocent, was death. If *Polycarp* would ſwear and forſwear, revile, and deny Chriſt, he ſhould become guiltleſſe. It was a very ſad and grievous judgement threatned againſt *Iſrael*, that as it ſhould be without a Magiſtracy, ſo without a Miniſtry; and ſo far without, that there ſhould not be left the very form of godlineſſe amongſt them; not men that durſt or would ſerve the Lord, though in an erroneous way, if it ſhould bear but the leaſt reſemblance of his commanded Worſhip: and how frequent and grievous the complaints of the Church were under this, let the Scripture teſtify. No leſſe was prophesied by *Paul* concerning the Church but then in her ſwadling cloathes, and ſucking in the ſoft principles of Religion, *2 Theſ 2.3.4.* *Let no man deceive you, by any means; for that day ſhall not come except there come a falling away firſt, and that man of ſinne be revealed, the ſonne of perdition; Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelfe above all that is called God, or that is worſhiped: ſo that he be as God, ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe that he is God:* which was not long ere it was accompliſhed; when ſhe began but to ſtrengthen, and wax beautifull in the eyes of the world; even in the dayes of that proud and blaſphemous Emperor *Caius*, who ſet up his own Image in the Temple of the Jewes, and in all o-

ther Christian Churches, to be worshiped: as at large and learnedly you may see it paraled by *Grotius in hunc locum Thessal.* and chronologed by faithful *Eusebius in Hist. Eccles. de temp. jub. Caio.* And of the sad condicion of the Church in this respect, under a Christian Antichrist, it was prophesied by one to this purpose: That *what the people of God should have, they should have to themselves, what understanding, knowledge, &c. not daring to publish it to others. Nay the dayes shall come* (saith the same author) *when neither the one durst preach: nor the other durst beare him that would preach,* and to this may all the Churches of God in their season yeeld ample testimonies, let us but a little receive satisfaction herein. *Eusebius lib. 5. pag. 76.* quotes an Epistle written by the persecuted Christians in *France* to the Christian Churches in *Asia*, and amongst other cruelties exercised towards them, relates this, *Non solum edificijs publicis, balneis, & foro nobis interdictum est, sed etiam ne quisquam nostrum usquam locorum in conspectum prodeat, ab illis vetitum:* they were not only denied their publique places for divine exercises, bathing places for their healths, market places for their commerce, but mutual fellowship, that Christians in no place be found together: whereby they could not have the enjoyment of the least Ordinance, even of godly conference. We find another presaging to this purpose; that in the

Abbas Ioachim, in Apoc. Electi Dei sapient sibi ipsi id quod sapient, ut tamen predicare publice non presumunt &c. Et pag 168. col. 4. in illis diebus non erit licitum predicare, aut audire predicantem.

Acosta lib. 2, cap. 15, de temp: novis,

later

later dayes we shall finde Ministers weeping, the places of divine Worship destroyed, none frequenting such Assemblies; and the usuall exercises of prayers and singing of psalmes neglected. We may with serious thoughts consider what once the Churches of the new Testament were, and what now, not only one, but all of them are. We may take a little inspection into Chronologers and finde something spoken to this Nation of *England*,* That it received the true Light euen upon the nearest dawnings of the Light; yea after the rising of the glorious Son of God, and his sitting in the highest Heavens, is very evident: And that it had as sudden, miserable, and generall clouding afterwards is as evident; and that by one thus writing: * *in Anglia pene tota fides extincta est hoc tempore à Maximiniano*: that under the Government of *Maximinian*, the Faith was even utterly extinct: (and if my memory sayl me not) he and another persecutor rejoyced exceedingly, that they had rooted out of this Nation, the *Superstition* of one *Iesus*. And again, the Church was in the same condicion *sub Edwino Rege Angliæ*, when not only the Ordinances of Christ were abolisht, but the profession it selfe ceased. Not the least of which but was acted under *Queen Mary*, who at the first had the Ordinances aulterated, then the means of knowledg taken from them, and at last their persons carried to prison, and from prison to the Stake.

Whereby

Sacerdotes gementes, portas destructas, Altaria deserta, sacras ædes vacuas, quod non sint qui venient ad Agni solemnitatem, Et Item cap, ult, Ecclesiastiarum ædes sacras erutas, liturgiam extinctam, psalmorum cantionem nullam esse.
*Vide Bernar. Christianogr & Doni. Rob. Cott. Antiq.

* Fasciculus Temp. pag. 47 & 70 Anno

Dom 294

954

1552

Whereby we see how the men of this world have in all generations dealt with the Church of God about their sacred things.

Thirdly, for *Honesty* and *Righteousness* : The godly in all ages have been the worlds Dung-cart to carry away all their filthy languages and reproaches, to bear their hard usages and whatsoever they were pleased to lay upon them ; and amongst them chiefly the Ministers of the Gospel : but what the Apostles spoke of themselves, is applicable to all the members of Christ, 1 Cor. 4. 13. *We are made as the filth of the World, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day.* Who should the Drunkard abuse, and against whom should hee vomit his ribaldry, but *David* ? yet haply he might be one of the chiefe of the people : but the abjects and baser sort of them, whose revenge could not fasten sooner then on a godly man, revile him also : such as sometimes beg'd at the Gates of *Iob*, calumniate him in his adversity, for his integrity. When the countenance of the Magistrate is turned from good men, his protection withdrawn, nay when he acts against them as offenders and enemies, the Church hath deeply suffered by the incivilities and dishonest dealings of their fellow subjects in person, name, and goods. We will exemplify this a little out of primitive Histories : Under *Decius* the persecutor, the common people were made the executioners of the godly, and if they would not be

Anno Christi.
252. omnes u-
bique uno ore
conclamabant,
Agnus est Chri-

as vile as the vilest, and sin with the sinfulest, they were immediatly brought to execution; it was so dangerous to be suspected a Christian, that they must commit evil to remove suspicion. But we read of another Decree before that, passed by *Verus* against Christians, *Servilius Paulus* being Pro-Consul of *Asia*, by occasion of which the rude and vile sort of people stole away the goods and estates of Christians in the day time as well as in the night, without punishment of the offenders, or restitution to the offended, they remayning harmlesse sufferers under them. And lest they should not bee cruell enough, and be too much like men, *Dioclesian* proceeded yet higher, to vex the Saints of God, by delivering them over to the pleasure of an unruly and ungracious multitude: *Libera potestas* sayth *Eusebius lib. 3. cap. II. pag. 149. omnibus concessa esset contumelias & pœnas illis* (Christians) *pro arbitrato inferendi: hi fustibus, alii virgis, illi flagellis, nonnulli loris, multi funibus, eos perculerunt, &c.* so that when the Magistrate could not invent how to bee unjust and cruell enough, the wicked people must have liberty to inflict in words or actions even unto death, what cruelties soever they pleased on them. So mercilesse they became, *ut sepultura martyrum cadaveribus negata*, that whom they judged not worthy to live, being dead, thought not worthy of

stianer numero impia & profana verba effari recusaverit, rapiatur ex reu p'lo, & in ignem coniciatur. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 34.

Impudentes, & protervi calumniatores, atque adeo alienarum rerum appetentes ex his Edictis occasionem nacti, palam noctu & interdium surantur &c. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 25. pag. 73.

buriall. And sure if all persecutors had become such, they would have prevented the execution of that sottish malice of the papists that searched the graves of Saints to burn their bones, whom they could not catch being alive: Who could imagine men so much debosited of reason, and to have made themselves beasts to accomplish Satanical fury flaming in them! Nay, their malice extended yet further, to the poor infants of the servants of Christ, (as lately in *Ireland* likewise) not as *Pbaraob*, who in the non-age of the Jewish Church, nor as *Herod*, who in the non-age of the Christian Church, in policy for their own security, slew the infants, but in meer cruelty, not deeming one of their posterity worthy to survive their parents, of whom the *world was not worthy*. But to these may bee applied the Saying of that holy Father and Martyr, *Aetas nec dum habilis ad pugnam, idonea extitit ad coronam; ut appareret innocentes esse, qui propter Christum u-runtur, infantia innocens ob nomen ejus occisa est*: an age not yet able to wield the lightest weapon, is fit to wear the heaviest & most glorious crown; and that it might appear that they are innocent that are slain for Christ, innocents, even innocency it selfe must endure for him. And thus you see what entertainment hath been given to the Saints of God in all ages, you see how black the Spouse of Christ is made through those hot persecutions: if it was necessarily pertinent, this might

Cypr, Epist. 56
pag. 116. b.

might be expaciated by the Examples of papists,
but let this suffice for the second Proposition.

CHAP. VI.

NOW to take up the third Proposition, That though a Church should be stript of all those glorious Ornaments, and left naked to all her enemies; or if the foundations thereof were shaking, and she in danger of losing those happinesses, yet *Prayer* is a most probable and Spiritually-rationall means to recover a lost, & preserve a tottering condicion, even prayer for the Civil Magistrate, and Government under which in present the Church hath her being: I say the procurement or settlement of those blessed immunities probably may be by prayer:

First in respect of the Ma-

gistrate, for whom

Secondly, in respect of

God, to whom

wee pray and make
our intercessions.

1 Prayer put up to God for the happinesse of Magistrates and their Government, is a probable meanes to procure happinesse to a Church from the Magistrate, if wee consider the Magistrate himselfe, who hereby may receive a clear demonstration of the nature of their profession, whither it truly tends; since that this is their practice, that they prey to the great God of heaven (with whom they dare not deal deceitfully) for his safety and

prosperity : and to this they are bound by the principles of their Religion, daily both in private and publique so oft as they have opportunity; yea although the Magistrate should continue his persecution against them for professing the true God: Herein I say, is a most clear evidence of the integrity of Christians exhibited to all men, and more especially to the Magistrate, whereby they may the easier be induc't to grant those things unto them, which they know them so sincerely to seeke as well for the Magistrates welfare as for their owne. They having no greater peace, no surer liberty in Religion, no clearer vindication against personall and private injuries, then what their Profession might demand under any Government. And though Magistrates have ignorantly received slanders cast upon their Religion, as seditious, factious, an enemy to peace, and all Lawfull Authority; yet by these their so sweet dispositions and deportments may the mouths of gainsayers be stopped, and thereby may the ears of Magistrats be open to entertain any reasonable motions for the advancement of their profession, and in the mean time to retain good thoughts both of it, and its professors.

Satan of old hath been an accuser of the brethren to God, and his instruments of old have accused them to such as are as Gods in this world; not only to abate the happinesse of the Church, but to draw a clould over the dawns of
of

of their deliverances, under which they have sate down long in trouble. When *Israels* troubles began, there were found enough to hasten them, this is their cry : *Psal. 137. 7. Raze it, raze it even to the foundations thereof.* And when trouble is sate on her, many are ready to lay more waight to make her yet more miserable : the Lord reproves *Edom* for this, *Obed. 12, 13, 14. But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger, neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Iudah in the day of their destruction : neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distresse &c.* And if his people but a little raise up their heads above the waters, for a refreshment to themselves & others, how ready do they stand to knock them down ; thus they dealt with *Daniel* and the three Children, they beginning but a little to shake off the basenesse of their bondage, and to be lifted up into the Kings presence (whereby not only they but the rest of their brethren might finde comfort,) were counter-plotted by ungodly persons, as we read *Dan. 3. 8, 9, &c.* by way of Bill and Accusation concerning their God, and that they slighted the King. And if the Church it self begin to shake off her prison garments, and climb up the dry banks out of the red sea of her tribulations, how many, and potent adversaries shall shee meet withal ! *Cyrus* he begins to open a doore of Salvation to the Jew, but in the dayes of the next

King, many rise to shut the doore against them, and that by maliciously aspersing the people: *Ezra 4.12, 13. Be it known unto the King, that the Iewes which came up from thee to us, are come unto Ierusalem, building that rebellious and bad City; which if it be builded, and the wals set up again, then will they not pay toll, tribute, and custome, &c* The grand accusation layd against Christ, was, that hee would bee King, and thereby draw in a great multitude to him, not only to disturb, but to depose that present Authority, and so he must be arraigned and condemned as a Rebelle and a Traytor, *Mark 15. 16. &c.* The same charge was layd against the Apostle, as appears by that wise and moderate answer of *Gamaliel* to the Councell, *Acts 5.* And as it appears by Histories, after the death of the Apostles, the same did the Iewes insinuate into Governors & Rulers against Christians, wherby many times they were a great occasion of their persecution. And so likewise did their Astrologers, Diviners, *præsignatores illorum temporum*, not only draw away the Magistrate from the Faith, as *Elimas* did the Deputy, but instigate them to a violent persecution of it: as also by Apostates and other Seducers.

But the patient bearing of their troubles following upon their accusers reproaches, and that without any resistance, but rather submitting to them with all meeknesse and willingnesse, did engage the Saints to love and pray for them, and
did

did also much plead for their justification: and such was the advice of the Apostle to all Christians in that condicion, 1 Pet. 3. 9, 10, 11. *Not rendring evill for evill, or railing for railing: but contrariwise blessing, knowing that yee are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing. For he that will love life and see good daies, let him refrain his tongue from evill, and his lips that they speak no guile: Let him eschew evill, and doe good, let him seeke peace and ensue it.* And not only their patience without the least contempt of Authority, did much vindicate them; but such was the inoffensive courage and sacred pride (of that their condicion) joyned to their patience, that many of their enemies were thereby convinced, and became weary in afflicting them. We read of an Epistle sent unto a persecuting Emperor by one of his Deputies, *Illis (scil. Christianis) magis in optatis est, ut in crimen adducti mortem pro suo Deo appetant quam vita fruantur, unde sua ipsorum vita hoc pacto prodita, multo majorem clarioremque reportant victoriam, &c.* It is more desirable to Christians that they being made guilty of this crime of professing Christ, to kisse death than enjoy their lives, their life so lost brings in a more glorious victory to them. And surely such as had courage to lay down their lives with this chearfulness, had as much in other wayes to spend them; but their cruelty could not force them to a Rebellion, nor being

Epist. Anton
ex Euseb. lib. 4.
cap. 12.

Acts 23. 3. 5.

being put to a stand, would they resist so much as in opprobrious language. *Paul* brought before the High Priest, whom ignorantly and inconsiderately he called the *Whited Wall*, who indeed was but the image of Authority, his Secular power being taken away by the Romans, and his Ecclesiastical by Christ, yet sitting in the place of Iudicature, as a *Ruler of his people*, must not bee taunted and undervalued by an Apostle of Christ: *Pauls* sudden checking of himselfe might most clearly convince the Magistrate, that really and intentionally he was not of a contencious and contumacious spirit: and might also render his Profession (then in question) the more placid and peaceable to them in Authority.

Moreover, though still they should proceed to slay these *Lamb* & innocent *Lambs*, they cannot beat them out of the life of Charity, but even upon the Crosse when their enemies hands are lifted up against them, then the Christians voyces and hearts are lifted up to God for them; even then they most sincerely and fervently pray for them: and what they then breathed out is but (as I may so say) the *Amens* of some thousands of prayers formerly put up for them: And mee thinks if every Magistrate should truly and impartially discourse this in his minde, and rayse up arguments from these mens devotions against their own cruel actions; if there were but comon humanity, or ordinary policy in them; they would

should readily concede and allow that to the oppressed subject, in which the subject so really labours to preserve his Magistrate.

Tacere liceat, nulla libertas minor

A Rege petitur —

No lesse a freedom can be desired, no lesse returned, than for a people to sit down in silence: no Magistrate can afford lesse peace to him whom none can force to break it, than to hold his peace, and therein to have his peace. Mee thinks the Magistrate might reason his own duty out of the subjects; and sure if yet he remain unperswaded, this or nothing will perswade him: soft words (and so mild actions) mollify wrath, and pacify the wrath of Kings. A great King will witness this unto us, and from him it is argued by *Lyppius* for subjects to live in quiet even under Tyrants; for the hearts of Magistrates are more placed in *their subjects*, than in *themselves*, and they are often guided more by the subjects *Carriage*, than their own *Counsell*; the end of Lawes, Governors, and all Governments, being to make men good, that the bad might not live badly, but the good in peace. When the Magistrate sees thy doctrine, thy conscience, thy practice, carrying forth nothing lesse in all thy prayers and intercessions; when peace is wanting or in danger to be lost, thou conscienciously and piously intercedest for it; when thou hast it, thou prayest God for it, of whom thou hast received it, the au-

thor of peace. I say, a Magistrate that will (as hee ought) wisely *read* his subjects much, must *learn* by these what they are, and be *taught* from what they are, so to preserve them in peace and righteousness, and in Religion leading unto both; to which his own reason if not his duty in all conscience might direct him.

2 This is a rational way in respect of God, to whom we pray, to obtain these things, *viz.* by praying for the Magistrate under whose boughs we rest our selves, and under whose shadow we finde protection: nay, though wee want these things, yet the way to obtain them under such a Magistracy is, to pray for that Magistracy.

1 In that God is the author of all blessings, and so of these, *viz.* *Peace*, *Godlinesse*, and *Honesty*: to which end, he is as wel the *Director* as the *Knower* of the hearts and wayes of all men; and can as wel (by a secret violence on the spirits of men) keep evill men from doing evill, as by a gracious change set on 'evill men to doe good: nay, without any such change hee can make a Magistrate that is naturally seirce, to institute Lawes for peace, an Idolater to protect Godlinesse, an unjust Judge to deal justly, as well as make a cruell man peaceable, a wicked man godly, or an unrighteous man honest. God makes Magistrates, and God makes Magistrates good, and to become a blessing to his people: Promotion comes not out of the East or West, but from

from the Lord, as to make Magistrates; neither does Peace come from the East or West, but from the Lord through Magistrates, whom hee hath made the most proper means to establish or to destroy these blessings: they are the clouds that God hath made to drop fatnesse on his own inheritance, or because of them it waxes barren and desolate. As by him Kings *Reign*, so by him Kings *Rule*, or Princes *decree justice*. Hee turnes the *Condicions* of Great Ones like the wheel, suddenly placing the nethermost part uppermost; and he changes their *bearts* like a River, causing them to run in what chanel hee pleases, and to whom hee pleases. *Prov. 21. 1. The Kings beart is in the hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of water, be turneth it whither soever he will.* God casts the hearts of men into what disposicions he pleases, & when men have made them bad, he makes them over again, good. *Paul* was a man of parts and power amongst the Rabbies, and a man extreamly violent against the Church of God, yet on an instant wee finde him as fast building up the Church as he was pulling of it down. *Manasseh* that fed on the lives of his subjects, became a nursing Father to them; and he that offerd blood to Idols, offers tears unto the Lord. *Trajan* at length laid aside his Lions skin, and put on the Lambs. *Maximinus* a most licencious cruell Magistrate, when God laid his hand of vengeance on him, before his death, was reclaimd: *tanti*

miseriis (saith the Ecclesiastick Historian) *colluctans redit ad Deum, persecutionem in Christianos sedat, Tempia readificat, preces pro Imperii statu petit*; Striveing (but not able to break from the power of justice) with his many miseries, hee returns to the Lord, quenches the fire of his persecution, not only gives liberty but contributes his own assistance to the re-edification of the Christians Temples, for the publique worship of God, and therein desires prayers continually to bee more for the happinesse of State and Government: a wonderful change! sure it is by the mighty hand of God: conquering and leading captive such high thoughts and proud imaginations into obedience to himselfe & his Church: by any rational apprehension it could be as little judged that this Emperor should become so mercifull, as once that *Hazael* should become so cruell; but he that can alter the hearts of Princes to afflict his people, can as easily alter them to nourish his people, and to take off their bonds: And a little further I must observe this miracle, in that so high & blood-thirsty an enemy should appear so tender a friend, that even hee who ruined men because Christians, should invite all men to bee Christians, that hee who with such zeal erected Temples and Altars to his Idols, should throw down his Gods, sacrifice his Priests and False prophets, to their destruction, as his deluders; and those sychophanticall favorites, who
were

were the instruments to provoake him to this persecution, should be cast off by him and become contemptible. I say, this is the Lords doing, and it is exceeding wonderfull in our eares; his *hand* is not yet *shortened* to work such changes, nor his *care* yet *heavy* to receive the prayers of his people to this end.

2 As he is able to work for his Church upon their Rulers, so he is nigh at hand to do this for such as call upon him :

His willingnesse } promises
appears in his } experiences } to his people.
 } directions }

First, in his *promises* : we see the Lord (minding the happinesse of his people) hath freely engaged himselfe, to procure such Magistrates for them, as should yeeld unto them the blessed fruits of holinesse and righteousnes, and accordingly he hath given them such as have been more industrious to obtaine them, then his carelesse people have been prepared to receive them. I shall not multiply places, but open a few materiall ones, wherein the promissory right of the Church may appear hereto. In generall, the Lord hath promised to give to his Son a people out of all people, both great and small, which the Word abundantly testifies in its historicall part; *Psal. 2. 8. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the Heiben for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy possession.* And among his Churches

such as should remain enemies and troublers of it, he undertakes to reduce them *ad veritatis & unitatem Ecclesiæ*, to the knowledge of the Truth, and a submissive acknowledgment of the Church; *Behold, I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jewes and are not but doe lie, to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee*: these promises do much concern the peace of his Church, and indifferently respects Magistrates as subjects; but we shall chiefly look after Magistrates, and see how Christ hath left them for her good as the chiefe part of the joynture of his Spouse. We see a promise of refining, and restoring of the Magistrates of his people to their pristine integrity, who were formerly corrupted, and so to make them usefull that were hurtfull: *Isa. 1. 25, 26. And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy drosse, and take away all thy tin. And I will restore thy Iudges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called the City of righteousness, the faithful City*: but this is the least of the works of God in this particular. *Isa. 49. 23. Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and Queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me*: and we see here that God will have a Church where never
any

any was, he will plant in a barren and dry wilderness, where inhabiteth cruell and ungodly men; yet here the Church shall encrease beyond its bounds, the seed of Christ shall go beyond the seed of *Abraham*, that was as the starres, and sand of the sea shore for number: *verse 20. The children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall say again in thine ears, The place is too straight for me, give place to me that I may dwell:* this shall be to her own astonishment, and admiration, both for the number, and the manner of their encrease: *verse 21. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone, these where had they been?* then the Lord tells thee who is the cheife cause hereof, and where and whence the Lord will gather those for thee: *verse 22. Thus saith the Lord God, behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their armes, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders.* And then the means he will use to bring these things about, he will make use of the Magistrates, who in their care, and love shall be as fathers and mothers, yet giving honour and subjection as children: *They shall bow down to thee,* *verse 23. Isa. 60.* we see the offspring and generation of such as know not the Church, and
of

of such as knew her, but hated her, were given unto her to serve her, to repair and strengthen her, *verse 10. 14.* So much peace and righteousness that there shall be neither watch nor ward kept amongst them, *verse 11.* And a great change in their outward estates, *verse 17.* But the cause hereof must be in the change of men: God will take in great men to his Church, thorow whom these blessings shall be conveyed to her, *verse 16.* *Thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, and suck the breast of Kings, &c.* what is it they shall draw forth out of their breasts? their Lawes, their Sword, and Strength; even all their power and interests, for peace and righteousness.

But you will say, that this can never be brought about without the destruction of the Antichristian enemies of his Church, that have spoiled her of all these blessings, and still stand betwixt her and the enjoyment of them: the Lord therefore to remove them hath promised to put a Sword into the hand of the Magistrates, and to stirre up their spirits unto this work, *Revel. 17. 16, 17.* *And the ten Hornes which thou sawest upon the Beast they shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate, &c.* If we had no more promises in the whol Word, these were sufficient infallibly to binde the Lord to this, and faithfully to preserve the expectations of his with him: and indeed all promises, but especially those of this nature should have these severall effects on every true beleever,

belceever, viz. to transforme us into the likenesse of God in them; to live so on them as if in present wee shared of them, to strengthen us in faith and patience to wait on him, in hope to rejoyce in him, by prayer to strive for the accomplishment of them, and by our practices to draw them onward to us, and to prepare our selves for them: to conclude this with that of an holy Martyr upon that legacy of Christ, left to his people, *My peace I leave with you*, saith that Christ having left or given to his Church peace in promise, *hanc nobis hereditatem Christus dedit, dona omnia sua pollicitationis & premia in pacis conservatione promissit.* Christ hath made us that beleeve heirs of this peace, the only heirs of the promises of peace, and in the keeping of this he hath lapped up all blessings servient unto this, and consequent hereof.

2 As you see the promise lies before you, so we finde *by experience* the mighty power of prayer, effecting as great things as these promises containe: the Saints of God by prayer have elicited the power of God, and stirred up the tender affections of God, to put forth that power to establish his people in such blessings. *Heb. 11. 33.* If Faith in the promises can subdue Kingdomes, cannot the same Faith subdue the hearts of Kings and bring promises of as little difficulty to perfection? But further, you shall see what way prayer hath made into the hearts of Kings, and

that God hath wrought more graciously on their spirits upon their prayers, than by his judicall signes and wonders. We read of that great trouble and affliction the spirit of *Nebemiah* lay under for the sad estate of *Hierusalem*, which the King his Master discovers in his countenance, and to know the cause of which he was very percuratory and inquisitive, as you may read *Neb. 2*. *Nebemiah* might well acquaint him, but little hopes he had to prevayl, to gain a people out of captivity, or being delivered, to raise meanes to enable such beggerly and poore captives to reparaire the Temple, *Hierusalem*, and build their own houses, a work too difficult through its greatnesse and their weaknesse: yet first *Nebemiah* seeks God by prayer, *verse 4*. *So I prayed to the God of Heaven*. Then he prevayles with the King, *verse 5, 6*. *If it please the King, &c.* The same course takes *Ester* and succeeds: the Jewes are in great danger and are all like to perish, shee knowes not what course to venture upon to save them, but that which was more dangerous; for to go into the Kings presence was death without the golden Scepter; and if happily she scaped that, yet it was an uncertain way, very improbable it was that a woman and a captive too, should upon a bare request undo what a great Court Favourite had done, and which being executed carried a great pretence of emolument and income to the Kings Treasury; yet mark the way shee takes,

Chap. 4. v. 16. Go gather together all the Iewes that are in Shushan and fast you for me: I also & mine will &c. such as were most ready must joyne in this duty, they must not delay its performance till all (that were like to suffer) should know of it: but first they pray for her good speede: and when shee comes, she findes the heart of of the King as ready to receive her, and answer her in all her desires, as if her soul had beene transanimated to his body, or had beene long before prepared for her. See then the mighty power of prayer, that prevailes for the destruction of many and potent enemies, why not for their salvation? does not their salvation ly in the way of thy prayer as well as their ruine? or is it lesse glory to God, or would it be lesse comfort to his Church rather to see them saved then ruined? prayer hath wrought favour for the Church in their eyes, and it might worke favour for them also in the Lords eyes; and sure it is, that this is the best way to make them the Churches, for if they were the Lords they would be his peoples: and its farre sweeter to suck the milke out of the breasts of gracious Magistrates, then wicked Magistrates, though their favours should be all one: and if prayer be a means whereby *Solomon* obtains grace for himselfe, its a means also whereby a people may obtaine it for the Magistrate; wherein they might be made happy in a free and reall collation of these blessings on them.

3. And herein this gracious successe only answers the Lords own *direction*: he gives us this in command as a means to procure any mercy and in generall to encourage the necessitated to this, tells us of the power of it. *Iam. 5. 16. The effectuall fervent prayer of the righteous avails much.* But as to these in particular; the Lord tels his his people how precious his thoughts were to them in their captivity, that his minde stood to their grace and mercy. *Ier. 29. 11. I know the thoughts, &c.* And the Lord tels them this for this end, to put them upon this divine exercise of prayer, that they might draw out his gracious intentions into acts, verse 12. *then shall ye go and pray unto me, &c.* verse 14. *and I will be found of you, and turn away your captivity.* And again when those thoughts of God shall be made manifest to his peoples happinesse, by enclining the hearts of their oppressours to them, even their Kings heart, God shewes of what temper and disposition his people shall be, making way for those mercies. *Ier. 50. 4. In those dayes and at that time saith the Lord shall the children of Israel come, they and the children of Iudah together going and weeping; they shall go and seeke the Lord their God.* We know that the ground of engagement to promise mercy, and of the performance of those promises lyes in himsele; the same cause that moved him to make them, excites him to a speedy and seasonable accomplishment of them: yet

yet the Lord draws arguments from us, even the worke of his grace in us, and the working of that grace out of us up to himselfe, to accelerate the worke: in the forementioned promise of crowning his spouse with such an hopefull Magistracy he gives this reason of it *Iſa. 29.23. for they shall not be ashamed that waite for me*: first they must waite for the glorious appearance of God in such blessings amongst his people: againe it must bee granted, that this attendance must be in his own way; for its not a dead hope, nor an activelesse faith, but such as stirrs up the soul to earnest desires and fervent longings assured on the faithfulness and truth of God in such promises: such then shall not be ashamed, they shall not waite in vaine, their expectation shall not faile them: whereby they should repent themselves of that way they have walked in, nor the wicked take occasion to reproach them, saying, where is their God. We meet with another passage in Peter, who moveing the Christians to patience in trouble, to a true persuance of Peace, closes the exhortation with this argument. *For the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous and his eares are open unto their prayers &c 1 Pet. 3.12*: as if the Apostle should inminde us of Gods special observation of Christians deportment in such times of tryall; that it be such that their prayers may find acceptance with him, who stands ready to receive them: nay if we had no greater assurance of their

ἀποδεχτός
gratus, & pro-
latus, dignus
admitti, com-
mendabilis:

certain availement, then in the text, it was sufficient encouragement to us, καλόν ἐστι καὶ ἀποδεχτόν this is a lovely and acceptable thing thus to pray for them that are in Authority; the face of a soul is comely in Gods eyes thus complected, and disposed; a prayer issuing from such an affection comes with great approbation into his presence: here is then a certainty of good speed ere we go, we desire in this a thing suitable to the minde of God, which already he hath agreed on in himselfe, and promised in his Word to grant us; either to give us the Magistrate, or to give us these blessings under his government: for sure such qualifications as these, of charity, content, patience, &c. which must be in a soul praying for an inimicitious Governour, puts great beauty on the soul, and power unto prayers; not to make it selfe meritorious, but haveing the character of his own prayers, and will upon them; Christ himself will own them, take them out of our hands and present them to his Father in the behalfe of his oppressed members: thus you may conceive the probability of this heavenly ordinance serving unto these ends.

CHAP. VII.

FEw there be that beleieve the wayes of God, or have had a clear experience hereof, but will grant this, and are resolved in the use of other meanes

meanes, and without the rational appearance of such meanes, conscionably to apply themselves to this practice. But here it will bee demanded, whether indifferently for any Power, Authority, or Government, under which we live, ought we to pray for them in reference to such ends: the ends are good, but whether thorow any Magistracy we ought so to seek for their administration, is the question? and so by consequence whether God may make this present Government serviceable hereunto, and wee pray for them in reference thereto?

To this I answer affirmatively, which I shall endeavour to prove,

- 1 From the practice of particular servants of God, and the Churches of God in all ages.
- 2 From some plain demonstrative arguments.
- 3 By resolving certain objections, that may withhold many conscientious Christians from the practice hereof.

1 That it hath been the *practice of the servants of God* (and accordingly to them have the judgments of many orthodox Divines fallen in) *to pray for those Governors and Rulers under which they lived.* The testimonies of men eminent in the Faith, and in reforming Churches, are no infallible ground for my faith; but where I see they accord with certain Scripturall examples, they for the present are a guide to mee, and resolve those doubts about which I might seem so anxious and desirous of decision.

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We finde *Abraham* praying for *Abimelech*, and all his family, that were Hethens, which hee did by Gods (speciall direction; and *Abraham* could do no lesse as a gratefull return of *Abimelech* his kindnesse to him, and a discharge of his duty to God: the case was thus; *Abimelech* in his ignorant innocency took *Sarah* to be his Concubine, from *Abraham*, who would not own her to be his wife, and so might in the wrong of himselfe have lost her; who might as well have been secured from danger, as she was from defilement, had he trusted the Lord: But *Abimelech* knowing her to be his wife, makes restitution of that which he injuriously (though ignorantly) had taken; here is justice. *Abraham* prays for him, and that the wombs of his family might bee opened to bring forth encrease, because *Abimelech* had not uncleanly touched that womb from which should spring a blessing to all Nations. All this is done by Gods direction; *Abimelech* gives *Abraham* his wife, *Abraham* affords *Abimelech* his prayers, and procures that blessing for him without which his Kingdom (should hee have had no enemy) would soon have been wasted. And had not God commanded this, it had been no lesse just in *Abimelech* to have restored her, And no lesse equall in *Abraham* to have prayed for him: First, as having protection under him in his pi'grimage; then kindnesse and justice from him though an Hethen: it is more for a Hethen to do so for a
b. leever,

beleever, than for a beleever to pray so for him, under whose power and Government hee lives; especially for a beleeving Prophet. His grand-child does no lesse for *Pbaraoh* an Idolater, *Gen. 47. 10. Iacob blessed Pbaraoh* not only for those civill favours that he and his sonnes had found in his eyes, but as a subjects duty, who was now come to live under his protection; where that he might live in a blessed condicion, it becomes him to pray for a blessing upon that Prince, or Governor under whom and by whose meanes such blessings were to be received.

But some will say, that these holy Patriarchs necessities compelled them to seek for protection and provision from them, and therefore no lesse than all manner of civill subjection was due to them: their voluntary and entreated act threw them into these Princes armes; and humanity it selfe might draw down their prayers and good wishes upon these Princes heads.

True; but this may clearly bee answered: yet we will grant you so farre, that such as seek for Magistrates protection, and flie to them for safety, in reason & conscience are bound to obey and pray for them. Yet let us diligently search the Scriptures a little further, and we shall finde the Saints of God praying for such Princes and Magistrates to whom they were forced to yeeld subjection; insomuch that they were *slaves* rather than *subjects*; neither did they receive such

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goodnesse from them, as might draw out their solemn prayers for them, only the command of God which is thus directed to the people in generall, *Ier. 29. 7. Seek the peace, &c. Seek*, that is, by prayer and practice. I know the time of their captivity was determined by the Lord, and it was to no purpose to strive, being against the Decree of God, which laid stronger hands upon them than the Tyrants: yet in the mean time they must seek & endeavour after peace, which in that place should bee as fully enjoyed as if they had been at home, their wals built up, and no enemy in their Countrey: as they *continued in peace*, so without striving they *went out in peace*; who else might have bin lead out of *Babylon* as their forefathers were out of *Egypt*; only that was a reward of their obedient and patient suffering. Wee read likewise that holy *Daniel* was in this frame, when he was prepared for food for the hungry Lyons, being cast off from his Throne into the pit by the Decree of the King, as if the greedy grave would have been too mercifull, therefore hee must bee interred in the bellies of Beasts, that the Sepulchre of this Prophet might not bee hereafter known: and notwithstanding this continued cruelty acted against him, he prayes for the King, *Dan. 4. 19. and 6. 21. O King, live for ever*. This *Darius* was an usurper of the *Persian* and *Iewish* Monarchies, to whom but little obedience by right might appear due: how many arguments
from

from his own Nation, from his present condition, and his cruell usurpation, might he have assumed, to have entered him into an eternall curse: but it is impossible to finde praying *Daniel* out of a praying practice; hee prays for perpetuity of years to be added to *Darius* his aged dayes, being 62 years old when he entred upon his forced Governments: And probably if *Darius* had heard *Daniel's* prayer out of his chamber window, some part thereof had been to the same purpose as this in the ps, which the Prophet as one of the chiefest presented to the God of Heaven; for such like directions were sent to *Hierusalem*, as wee read *Baruch* 1. 11. 12. *And pray for the life of Nabuchadnezzar, &c.* which questionlesse was not in complement from *Daniel* sent to them, nor in policy performed by the brethren at *Hierusalem*, they being so much in the eyes of their enemies, Rulers, and others mixt with them in and about that City, and so subiect to any intelligence and accusation that might bee given in against the Jewes to the *Babylonian* King; but meerly from principles of piety and conscience, knowing they ow'd no lesse to their Governors, and so ought in reference to God to praise him for them, who many times stirred up their hearts to shew them favours, as to pray to him for them, that they might receive favours from them; who together blessed the instruments, and blessed God for them.

To these we read the care of Christ (a naturall Jew, and who might claim as much priviledge and exemption as any) in paying his Tribute to the usurper of the Iewish Kingdom, being then under the Roman; with what wisdom he answered their objections made to entrap him, that hee might deny their Authority; but still he granted Tribute due to them for their maintenance, and payd it himselfe: what we pay to, wee may pray for, else wee do but aſt that really which wee dare not acknowledge in words, which is the least acknowledgment, the lesser subjection. The Apostles are frequent herein, instructing the Ministers under them to presse, forwards this practice in their dayes, *Titus 3. 1. Put them in minde to be subject to Principalities, &c.* and gives the reason of it, it being rather the genuine property of unbelievers, unprincipled with grace and goodness, to be maliciously affected to Superiors, (as some say the sin of the Devill was before his fall) and thence to despise & resist them, as sometimes we were that now do beleeve, verse 3. *For we our selves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, liveing in malice and envy, hatefull, and hating one another.* 1 Pet. 2. 12, 13, 14. *Having your conversation honest, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. *Be subject unto the higher powers, &c.* So Jude, not to despise Government: Where in all Churches they were exhorted to due subjection, to innocent conversation,

tion, to a reverend estimation of them, paying unto them our dues, the least payment being the Tribute of our prayers. Where the Apostles require obedience from us to them, not as Heathens but as Magistrates though Heathens : and they that taught us that *it is better to obey God than man* ; where their commands contradict one another, taught us also to *obey them for the Lords sake*, where their commands oppose not.

To these wee adde the practices of the Church in her primitive purity. *Dionysius* that peacemaker & desirer of Unity in the Church of God, in his Apology for Christians under the persecution of *Verus* thus writes : *Nos unum Deum omnium fabricatorem — colimus & veneramur : huic etiam sine intermissione pro eorum regno ut firmum & stabile maneat, preces adhibemus* : we serve & worship one God the maker of all things, to whom wee offer our prayers continually, that their Kingdom and Government might remayn firm & sure. *Tertullian* observes thus in his Defence of the innocency of the Church in his days, *Nos pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus, — precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, ut iam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quacunque hominis & Caesaris vota sunt* : we call upon God for the health of our Emperors, wee pray continually for all our Emperors that they may have a long life,

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap 37. Anno
Christi 260.
Euseb lib. 7.
cap. 10. p. 122

Tertul. Apol:
cap. 30

a secure dominion, safe house, strong armies, a faithfull Council, an honest people, and a quiet Nation; what *Cæsar* or man can wish, wee wish for them. And hereinto fall the judgments of orthodox Expositors, and Writers, glorious Lights in their generation: to refer you but to a few; *Peter Martyr. Com. loc. Paræus in Rom. 13 Comment. & Aphorism. Marlor. in 1 Tim. 2. Gerard. Com. loc. de Magistr. politico, pag. 923, 924. Ames. cas. conse. lib. 5. cap. 25. p. 313. Debent pro ipsis singulariter orare, idque omni genere orationis*: wee ought principally and in particular to pray for them, (speaking of Magistrates) and that with all kinde of prayers: praying for mercies for them, interceding in their miseries, and giving thanks for their happinesse. Whatsoever these *Cæsars* or Magistrates undertook according to the minde of God, they with all earnestnesse and truth of minde, blessed; what they enterprized contrary to his minde, they prayed not for; yet even then they prayed for the Magistrate himself, that the Lord would change his minde, divert his course, and not suffer him to ruine himselfe and his subjects. This wee will close with that of learned *Zanchy*, speaking of Magistrates, and therein of evill ones, *Qui suum collum iugo filii Dei subicere volunt*: those that will not subn. it to the rules and commands of the Son of God, *quibus majorem Dei cognitionem, melioremq; mentem precamur à Deo Patre & à Domino Iesu Christo*:
for

for them wee pray of God the Father and his Son Christ, a larger knowledge of God, and a sounder minde.

Surely this great cloud of witnesses, these many clouds following one another do write, and are written for our instruction, and leads us into the way of this command, That we pray for all that are over us, even for all that are in Authority; that that power and government might be so blessed of the Lord, that we might *lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* And if hitherto we have not known, nor walked in this way, let us take the advice of Christ to his Church, *Cant. 1.8. Follow yee the footsteps of the flock.*

CHAP. VIII.

THat we may proceed further to confirm your judgement herein; we desire you impartially to weigh what succeeds: We ought to pray for a blessing upon that Government under which we live, upon these grounds, and in reference to these ends.

I. From the true foundation of all Magistraticall power, that is, the Power, Commission, and Ordinance of God, even as God himself under what form of government soever we live; or in what manner soever the Magistrate doth distribute, and exercise his power, the power is no less
of

of God. The Poet by the light of nature could sing, *ἐκ τῆς αἰδὸς κασιγῆς*, Kings, and so all Magistrates are of God. So in generall doth the Spirit of the Lord speak in *Paul* indifferently, and indistinctly, *οὐκ ἔστι δύναμις ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ*, *There is not a power unless it be of God*, which cannot be more universal, exclusive of none; which is not to be understood alone abstractively of authoritie and government, for that is but one and the same throughout the world; but also of the severall forms of government, and administration of that power, that whosoever it is that doth govern in present, and in what manner soever, whether as the Emperor of *Rome*, or usurper of *Jules*? whether at *Rome*, as in an Empire, or at *Abens*, as in a Common wealth? their power is of God, of Gods ordination, constitution, and command: its not from Satan, nor meerly founded on the best reason and policie; but decreed and ordered from above. Therefore writes *Grotius* upon that place, *Iohn 19. 11. Thou couldest have no power against me, unless thou hadst it from above.* After his Criticism upon *Above*, *ἀνωθεν quod est à Deo* Comments thus, *Cum autem dicit datum e locis superis, non illam communem significat permissionem, quæ multa relinquit ordini naturali, sed ex gravissimis causis deliberatam rem in consilio divino, quæ omnia impedimenta undiq; moverat.* But when he saith, *It is given thee from above*, it signifies not that general permission of God that leaves
many

many things to the order of nature (*Reason; and ordinary second causes*) but a thing deliberated in the wisdom and counsel of God upon most weighty grounds, which removes all hinderances *that may stand betwixt the persons and the establishment, and the execution of the power.* Though that the abusive administration, as well as the unjust acquisition of power is not of Gods approbation, and delectation, but permission: yet the power and authority is divine onely from God, and hath a real presence of Divinity. 1. In respect of the Original, and Fountain of government, which onely is *in God*, as the maker of the world, and could onely ordain *Adam*, or any of his line to rule over, or govern his fellow creatures, as Stewards in the Family of *God*; which for the order and beautie of the Universe, had been an institution of *God*, if man had continued in his integrity, and for the safety of the Universe, was still conferred on his posterity. And this illustrates that in *Lude, verse 11.* *They run the way of Cain*, not onely of uncharitableness against his brother, but of disobedience against his Father, of *Rebellion* against *Adam* the dominator of the earth. 2. In respect of his order, and Commission in his word, given to man to rule, under his hand. We have not there a Catalogue of Families and persons that should succeed in government; nor have we Prophets now a daies sent from God to nominate and annoint our Rulers,

lers, onely that man is to rule, and Commonwealths to have Magistrates from generation to generation. Therefore we must distinguish betwixt what is humane, and what is divine in his Ordinance in a strict sense. For the Apostle, 1 Pet. 2. 13. calls it an *Ordinance of man and of men*, or *humane Ordinance*: Humane in respect of the persons that bears this Authority; either elected by the suffrage of the people, or acquiring it by the arm of flesh, or mixt, partly forced, partly by way of stipulation & Covenant passing betwixt the Magistrate and the people, mutually binding; and on the dissolution of any such Obligations on either party, both remains free; and thus man may bee said to be the rise of government, though God be the head that feeds all the springs of it; yet the next spring, the *Electors*, appears the head to us, that immediately convey the streams of power to any. Or it is humane in respect of the person exercising, the persons on whom it is exercised, and the ends for which it is exercised: Yet the power into whose hands soever it is committed, and by what means soever, and however that is executed (God having not bound all Nations to one form of government, whether Monarchichal, Aristocratical, or Democratical? nor for their judicial Lawes to one way of administration, provided, That no Law oppose or hinder the Lord, or any thing that is his, but rather advance, and confer establishment

to

to his Lawes) it is of God, and is to be obeyed.

Εξουσία κοσμικὴ ἐκ Θεοῦ τίναν; καὶ μαχαίρῃ ἰλασὶ τῇ ἑξουσίᾳ, Eph. 1. 2. 3. Col. Gerard.
οὐκ ἀλλὰ ἔθεν ὁ πῶθεν ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ, &c. saith *Epiph.*

nus. All worldly power is ordained of God, which receives the power of the Sword from no other but God. That however the several waies of government be left to mans discretion; and so are added or diminished, or wholly altered according to that wisdom applying it self to severall times and persons, yet still the power it self remains an ordinance of God.

Weems 2. vol.
2. lib. pag. 71.
In Decal. vide
paræi Aph. sup.
ad Rom. 13.

And that this Authority might have the Divine presence in it, God hath given to the Ministers thereof his own name, an high dignity to his civill Ambassadors. *Psal. 82. 1. I have, &c.* Which Psalm as one observes, was written by *Asaph*, from the mouth of God himself, who calls you *Gods*, his Vice-God, Judges for him over his people; representing him, and in some respects, *modo inferiori*, have the same subjection (as if God should sit there in person, and humane shape to judge for us) if they give in charge nothing but what is their Masters minde. We ought to *Honour God with our substance*, who gives us all things liberally: and so we ought to serve the Magistrate with it by paying Tribute, who preserves us with our substance that God hath given us.

We pray unto God, we pray for these unto God; we ought not to blaspheme the name of the

great God, so not to speake evill of the Rulers of his people. We worship God with our bodies that are his, so we offer civill homage with the same to the Magistrats: we serve God in our souls and spirits, so we ought not to let our thoughts or hearts rise up against the Magistrates. This we ought to give as a Free-will offering, and yet we pay it as a most due debt. What Christ said, *give to Caesar*, the Apostle as a good Expositor, bids us render *anthon* being the same word used in both. We give it then not by way of gratuitie, but duty: we pay it, we render it up from our selves, as being against right to detain it from them.

Now since that Magistrates are Gods Ordinances, and Magistrates are his representatives; let us endeavor the confirmation of his Ordinance; and honor both in mind and person, such as rightly judge for him: follow his decrees and constitutions by passing our votes and supplications for them. What *Iohn* said of a brother to a brother, *He that loveth not whom he hath seen*, being the spirituall image of Christ, *How shall he love him whom he hath not seen?* Christ himself. So of the subject to the Magistrate, *He that honors not him whom he hath seen*, that bears the office, & presence of the Almighty, *How shall he honour God himself, whom he hath not seen?*

The second reason is drawn from those ends, for which such a supreme order is constituted over us.

First,

First, We will begin with the *Subordinate ends*, such as most concerns us. God made us, and made us happy, and to be happy, he therefore provided means to promote this happiness. But man by his fall made himself miserable; God therefore to prevent the preproperating our misery, or lessen those evils, into which inevitably we have cast our selves, hath appointed means, as remedies hereof, even these means, viz. Magistrats. For see the ends for which they are constituted of God, and which they ought principally to attend. *Rom. 13. 3, 4 For Rulers, &c. Psal. 82. 3. 4. Defend the poor, &c.* and most eminently in this Text, *Pray for them, that under them, you, &c.* As we are the Lords people, so the Lord hath made us their people, and delivered us to them, and given to them Divine institutions, even such as are necessary to the well-being, nay, the being of humane Societies. If they abuse that power to set up their own private interests, contrary to those ends, this is neither from God, nor naturally from their power; but from the corruption and baseness of mens ambitious spirits, that makes use of their masters favour and talents for their own advantage, seeking their own, instead of the good of others.

A Magistrate of all men is the least his own, but given unto, and set a part for the people: he is the greatest *Servant* of all men, and the best, if upright in his place: Yet though he be the *Ser-*

vant of others in labour, he is the *Master* of others in honour.

God therefore hath appointed them to serve us with their blessings, or he hath ordained them the Pipes and Vessels through which the Fountain of good, conveys his good things to us : or this order of the preheminency is a civill Stewardship, in which men are to deal out the allowances of God to the rest of their fellow Servants, to preserve and augment those blessings. Since then the ends be so desirable, and the means so considerable, it becomes to make us to strengthen and make use of those means, to pray that the Stewards may be found faithfull in their Office, that these Pipes be not broken, or stopped; that so the stream of the Common wealth, Justice, and the stream of the Sanctuary, Godlinesse and Truth, may in a peacefull, still, quiet, and proper channell run down amongst us. Therefore, besides their Titles of Authority whereby they live over us, and by us, so they have their Titles of Duty, to shew they should live for us, and we by them. *Fathers*, and *Mother*s; *Ioseph* was a Father indeed, and by his prudentiall care provided for his people. *Deborah* was a Mother indeed, and carried her people out of the Waters, and mire of troubles: here we have the true Nurfing Father and Nurfing Mother : and so should all others be that should feed the oppressed with Justice, causing him to sit under his own Vine,

and

and to eat the fruit of his own labour, feeding the *Poor* by carefull, timely, and sufficient provisions; feeding the *Righteous* by protecting and providing for their Pastors; defending the Ordinances, the bread of life in purity: sure then if we be obedient children, expecting or desiring these blessings from our Fathers, we ought to pray for a blessing upon our Fathers. They are called the *The foundations of the earth, the guard and Saviour of a Nation, &c.* To reckon up and apply all, would be tedious, and beyond my purpose: onely this, these names were not imposed upon them in vain, but they have their Ensigneticall significancies, teaching them what they ought to do for us, and what we may expect from them: as also unto what we ought to seek of God to enable them; for if they produce not these blessings to us, there is some great cause in them, or us, they being so naturally, or Divinely annexed to the Office.

How heartily do we pray for, and watch over such things as we know by experience to be the proper causes of comfort to us, as over our Children, over the earth we mannage, &c. and if there be a failing, a deviating in them, that the channel that should afford us sweet, yeilds nothing but *bitter water*; and our best earth that should bring forth pure grain, *bears nothing but thorns*, we are much affected with it; we mourn, we pray, and beseech the Lord to divert the curse. Do so for
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the Magistrates of a land, especially for Magistrates labouring and striving to bring forth fruits suitable to their place, and to yeild better fruit, and more wholesom to the people, then ever any laboured before: pray that the Lord would furnish them with wisdom and strength accordingly; either thou must desire mercies of God in the way of his means, else thou temptest God. And if thou hast received such benefits by the Governement under which thou livest: ungratefull man! that wilt not endeavour a recompence, viz. of Prayers and blessings. *Debent illis submissam gratitudinem, qua beneficia illa, quorum participes facti sunt, ex eorum potestate, judicant pro viribus compensare,* saith Ames. lib. 5. cap. 20. pag. 303. We owe to Magistrates an humble gratitude, wherein to our utmost power we ought in our duties & callings to study to compensate those benefits, whereof by their own power they have made us partakers; pray that the same good hand may rest upon them, to continue the same good to us.

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And if as yet those blessings fall short of a moderate desire and expectation, pray that they may not. *Nam hoc officium non possunt prestare principes nisi a Deo donati, &c.* Zanch. t. 8. de mag. pag. 554. Though they are ordained of God for these ends, yet they cannot accomplish these ends for us, unlesse the Lord concur with them in the administration of their power, as he did in their

their ordination. Wee may conclude this with that observation of learned Mr *Weemes*, vol. 2 lib. 2. cap. 13. pag. 73, *ad finem*: The Iewes say, *Esse orans pro salute Regni, nam si non esset Autoritas publica, vir proximum suum deglutiret, ut pisces maiores minores*: pray for those that are in Authority, for if there were no Authority to restrain oppressors, then the wicked would devour the man that is more righteous than themselves, even as the great fish devour the smaller. Mee thinks our own necessity should lead us unto this duty, when we see Magistrats contriving their Counsels to our wants, wee having so many evill persons abounding amongst us. *Aquin. 12. qu. 95. art. 1. ex Isod. Facte sunt Leges ut earum metu humana coerceretur audasia, tutaque sit inter improbos innocentia*: If the Laws were for no more than these ends, that the impudence of impious persons might bee corrected, and the innocent might lie down in safety, they were sufficient to induce us to this duty: and so farre as wee doe enjoy these, let us be thankfull for them, for without them we should not know what was our own. They therefore (saith *Paræus Aphorif. 3. prædict.*) seem to bee more necessary than our daily bread, the aire we breathe in, the Sun we walk by, &c. for even these wee could not comfortably enjoy without them.

2 The prime and highest End is the glory of God. *Ames. cas. conf. lib. 5. cap. 25. pag. 313.* De-
N betur

betur autem hoc officium, non tantum quia subditorum bonum in ipsorum bono, &c. wee owe not only this duty to Magistrates, because our good is included in their good, but because a singular price of glory and honor comes to God out of the right administration of their power: When a Magistrate is converted, there is not only rejoycing for him as a common sinner, and single, being saved himselfe, but as one that adds glory to the Church, strengthens and comforts many that do beleeeve, and may bring in many more to the acknowledgment of the same truth. If the Lord had not cut off that cursed *Iulian*, into what dangerous mischiefs had hee hurled the Church of God? One Emperor only puls down the places of publique Meetings, that so solemnly, diligently, and preparedly they should not instruct one another: another takes away their publique Schools, that so their children might not receive humane Learning, and the principles of Religion: another takes away the means, the outward support of all their helps to Religion and Learning, knowing that with it all will in time perish.

— *Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Premia si tollas?* — saith the Poet.

Such was their subtile actings with the Church of God, in the primitive times, to draw a darkness over the truth to destroy their souls; and if that will not prevaile, then they destroy their persons; and what evill such a cruell Lion as *Nero* may

may do in a little flock of Christ in a short time, any may cast up. But when that unparalleled *Constantine* arises, what a splendid glory breaks forth over all the Churches of God! what pleasant beauty settles on the countenances of the godly! what prayes are sung to God for him! how much is the name of Christ advanced by him! *Christus in Consistorio*, Christ now sits in the Consistory; Christ pronounceeth judgment on the Throne: Christ ruling, Christ preaching. And in his time not the most infernall mouth durst open against the name of Christ. Art thou a Christian, and wilt not pray for this glory, which in all places and ages is usually eclipsed or enlarged by the Magistrate? Thy prayers may conferre to the reducing of an erring Magistrate, as well as an erring brother: and if this bee of consequence, much more is that: the Apostle makes it possible, that wee might put it into act, *Iam. 5. ult. Let him know that bee which converteth (any) sinner from, &c.* but let him know, that he that converts a Magistrate by prayer or any other way does much more.

And suppose thou hast not been idle and unacquainted in these meanes; thou hast prayed from time to time, and thy prayers return not with these full and pleasant fruits; thy prayers go out laden with the best and choicest of thy desires, but they return empty: yet the continuance in this duty may abate the dishonor of God.

If upon this thy Magistrate become not so good as thou desistest, yet he may not be so bad as thou fearest: this may stop blasphemous mouthes, check the malignant and impetuous slanderer; nay, hereafter when thou art dead, the memorial of thy conversation may work upon and bee as Balm unto thy Hearse, and be a friend to the surviving Christians. *Marlor. in 1. Tim. 2. v. 3. Cedit in gloriam Religionis Christianae, imò Domini Dei nostri, si pacificè, mansuetè, ac sedulò Dominis obsequamur, subjecti omnibus in timore Dei, &c.* this will redound to the glory of our Christian Profession, and of our God, if meekly and peaceably we endeavour to obey our Rulers, for being subject to them, we shew by our works that the Lawes of our good God are written in our hearts, and what those Lawes are, when from us they shall glorify God, that if it please him to visit them with his gracious mercy, enduing them with religious and pious hearts, they shall serve and worship this God with us; however in the mean while *Orationibus nostris commendati*, let them bee presented unto God in our prayers for this end: or if it please the Lord to visit them in anger and with his rod, this may sadly reflect upon their spirits, as one cause of their punishment; *I have hated them that have loved me, cursed them that blessed me, oppressed them that prayed for me, laughed and mocked at them that mourned and fasted for me: I have requited them evill for good,*

I have despised their good, and therefore it is just that this evil should come upon me: an heart thus truly smitten will presently send forth cries: Ob, let them pray for me still. Ob, that I might live to pray with them, to return those blessings I have taken from them, and to pay that to them in part which I owe for their prayers; my bloud is too little to shed for them to protect them, that shed such tears for my heavenly protection. And if with these wishes and thoughts they should breathe out their lives, it would be honour to God, and should be sufficient comfort to thee, though they should not live to remunerate thee. *1 Pet. 2. 12.* Having your conversation honest (and thus pious likewise) among, &c. *verse 15.* for so it is the will, &c. that with well doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolishnesse: and if yet herein thou obtainest not thy desire, but they live and dye as wicked and ungodly Magistrates as ever they were, yet here is thy comfort, thou glorifiest God in performing his own Ordinance; and that in hope thou continuest waiting therein upon his bare word, without the least income of mercie futable to thy endeavour.

Lastly, thou oughtest to pray for them, *They may desire it of thee:* and doubtlesse if the Magistrate be a good man, or ever had the least acquaintance with God in this his way, he will not so much that thou mightest acknowledge his Authority, as that he might through faith and fellowshipship.

lowship in the same duty, be made partakers of so effectual an Ordinance, desire thy supplications and intercession for him. *Hezechiab* sends to *Esaiah*, and in him to all the rest, *Is. 37. 4. Lift up thy prayer, &c.* So did *Esiber* to all her brethren. We see the Elders of *Judab* coming to the Prophet with false and hypocritical Spirits to desire his prayer and direction, *Ier. 42. 2, 3. We beseech thee let our, &c.* yet they had a free and gracious answer, *verse 10. If you still, &c.* as if there had been much goodintended to them, if they had really intended obedience.

That wicked and rebellious people that had injured *Samuel*, yet knowing the efficacie of prayer, comes to him, *1 Sam. 12. 19. And all the people said to Samuel, &c.* This was *Samuels* gracious and milde answer, to that ungracious, and discontented multitude, *verse 23. As for me God forbid, &c.* We finde that Heathen Kings have been so far convinced of the virtue of this means, that they have desired it earnestly, *Ezra 6. 10. That they may offer, &c.* And to this he engages them by speciall favours, *verse 8, 9.* Not only to defray the charges of the Sacrifice, but the expences of the place of worship it self. Many of their Princes, the Eunuch, &c. have come up to *Ierusalem* for this end, to joyn in worship with them. We have many examples hereof upon Record, and in our own eyes to this day; I shall give you but one in the Primitive Church. *Maximinus* that

that cruell and impious persecutor, on his bed of sicknesse had certain reluctations of Spirit for his evill praesises, and got up his heart to desire the prayers of Christians, even of that remnant yet preserved from the fire, and other torments: and that he might obtain the Christians hearty prayers for him, did bestow upon them many liberties, gifts, &c. — *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 29. p. 169. Unde Christiani hac indulgentiâ à nobis concessâ devincti debent deo suo obnixè supplicare, pro nostrâ, pro Reipublicâ, pro suâ ipsorum salute, ut quovis modo cum publicis rerum status integer & incolumis retineatur, tum ipsi in familiis suis absq̃ curâ & sollicitudine vitam degant.* Having by his decree restored to them their places of Worship, Means, Liberty of profession, &c. Hence, saith he, The Christians being bound by this indulgence granted by us, ought earnestly to pray unto their God for our health, the health of the Common wealth, and their own, that so the common condition of affairs being well and safe, they might spend their lives in their families without care and molestation. What an unworthy thing would it be in us, to deny to answer this their desire? Where would be that Christian compassion, and charity sutable to our profession? we condemn them for not protecting us, and we deny to afford them our prayers to enable them to it. We judge the Magistrate for his wants, when our wants are the greater; I say, they are the greater

greater, because they are the easierly supplied ; it is worse that they should want our prayers (especially praying for them) then that we should want their countenance, assistance, maintenance. Hypocrites, Heathens have had and merited their answer of desires herein, who tended to nothing but their personall security, and perticular happinesse: much more should such Magistrates, who from pious, sincere, and humble spirits, desire good mens prayers alone, even for this end, That they might receive Divine influences of wisdom, courage, integritie, &c and outward blessings, whereby they might cause their authority and power, truely to serve the Church of God.

Thus you see how probable the effect is, how reasonable the performance is.

CHAP. VII.

IT comes now in order to discusse the last particular promised, viz. The resolution of some Objections that have sometimes sate upon my judgement and conscience; and the same may abide still upon the mindes of many sincere, and tender hearts, that desire truely and exactly to walk according to Gospel Rule, and to the honor of their holy profession; which with all the candor and freedom of spirit I can, I shall labour according to truth to remove; that so with the
more

more chearfulnesse, and lesse hesitancie, we may set our selves to the conscionable practise of this Duty.

Object. But some will say, Ought we to pray for, and to be subje& to *Hereticall* Magistrates, and such as make use of their power to protect Hereticks?

Sol. To this I answer,

1. That if this be made in reference to this present Government, and to them that are in eminent Authority over us, it may upon probable grounds be denied that they are such Hereticks; for this by experience I can affirm of some that have great influence upon the affairs of this Common wealth as they are now acted, and carried on amongst us.

1. That they are found in judgement in the Fundamental points of religion; zealous affectors of the Ordinances of God in purity, constant practisers of such Duties, as carries in them the power of Godlinesse, and men of great and heavenly experiences.

2. That they are sadly and deeply affected with the spreading Errors and Heresies of these times, through which there are such numerous divisions dayly begotten in that one onely Church of God, and do truly resent the departure of good men from the Truth, not onely as the common Sins, but the heavy Judgements of these times, from which I am

perswaded they will labor according to truth to recover this nation.

3. They are tender over the *Orthodox*, and thereof especially the Ministers of the Gospel; readie to supplie their indigencies, to pardon their infirmities committed against themselves, desirous of nothing more then union with them; exceedingly troubled to be made instruments of their affliction, and the others restoration. To this their own actions may testifie in many, and they still will testifie in the due honor and preservation of learning, and of learned men, as a means to discover the subtilties of Satan (covered by men of the ablest parts) and to strengthen the truth, to which we owe our noblest excellencies, and of which at all times, even in the Apostles times (when there was an immediate effusion of the spirit) the Lord made use of, as serving truly to these ends. Yet I believe that there be many violencies offered against them in their estates and names, of which they in Authoritie are wholly ignorant; and I believe their actions hereafter will yet give a clearer evidendence unto this. Hereby it may easily be discerned what kinde of Hereticks they be.

2. By way of concession, admit the present magistrates should be Hereticks, even under their government thou oughtest to live in peace, and perfectly to obey them in all their Ordinances
that

that are according to the minde of God ; and if otherwise he command thee, resist not, though thou obeyest not : but in thy place reprove them, so that thy reproofs, through soundness of wisdom tend to reformation, and not to shame and disturbance.

1. For we finde not any Magistrate (admitting he hath the gifts of Government) excepted from Rule, nor we exempted from due Obedience, and honour to any Magistrate under any such qualification. But the rule runs in general, *to be subject to the bigger powers, to all that are in Authoritie, to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake.*

2. We finde not any example in the Orthodox, and reformed Churches of God, that by any regular and approved course, by any unanimous and free consent, have laid aside, deposed, resisted, or sleighed any Magistrate, for that Religion he hath professed in the New, or Old Testament : though we know otherwise, Religion is the common and general plea for Rebellion ; and so for excusing all allegiances, as we have too many presidents of this kinde. We finde not any King in *Judah* Deposed for Idolatrie, nor the Prophets and Priests resisting their Authoritie for it, though faithfully, and sharply reprehending them. Nor finde we any of the Churches of the new Testament resisting or denying obedience to a Magistrate

because Heretical, Idolatrous, or back-sliding from the truth.

Object. Good reason, for they had not Strength.

Sol. First, None can deny but the Jewes had sufficient strength; they who could irresistably revolt from *Reboboam* the oppressor, could as easilie have rejeſted his Father, secure in the arms of his Concubines, and an Idolater.

Secondly, It is probable that the Primitive Christians had power within them to have effected such a design, if they would. For if we should reckon those many thousands that suffered (besides those that escaped) under one Persecutor, we should think if they had been embodied (in so just a cause as truth alone) they might have puzzled all their Tyrants power. And if we further consider how many Christians were in great favour, Courtiers, and attendants to those great Princes; many in Offices of great trust, Commanders in the field, Governors of Forts, Towns, and Castles, it would be no great marvel (if this opinion was Evangelical) to hear of embroilments, and insurrections.

To give you but an instance or two, besides what is largelie spoken to this by *Tertullian* in his Apologie. *In initio imperii Valeriani* ———

Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. ta domus ejus piis hominibus complebatur, eratque plane Dei Ecclesia. When Valerian began his Reign, his house was so full with Godly men, that it appeared

appeared truly, rather to be a Church of God, then
 the Court of an earthly Prince. Who when their
 Emperor Apostatized into those great impieties
 of Tyrannie, and Persecution, probably had both
 power and opportunitie to have finally cut off
 that wicked Magistrate, as *Ebud* did *Eglon*, if ^{Judg. 3.}
 they durst have resisted that power. We meet with
 going along in the same Historie, another *Cor-
 nelius, Marinus* a Roman Centurion, who being
 questioned for the faith he professed, questioned
 not their Authoritie, neither made use of that
 power and interest he had in the Souldierie (who
 might be Christians for the most part (as that
Legio fulminatrix was) or at least affected to
 Christianitie) for his defence and protection, or
 for the suppression of that Tyrants wickednesse:
 but after he had discoursed with *Theotecnus*, an ^{Euseb. c. 14.}
 holy Bishop, who presented him with a Bible and ^{Pag. 130.}
 a Sword, & *præcepit ex illis duobus, quod magis
 esset ex animi sententia deligeret: And required
 him that whether of them two he had rather have,
 he would chuse, who without delay threw away his
 sword, and with cheerfulness submitted his neck
 to the Axe.*

Many instances of the like nature might be
 produced out of those ancient Historiographers,
 and that modern, but faithfull & learned French-
 man, *Tbuanus*: onelie thus far we have the effigi-
 es of other Christians in these, that though they
 could, yet they would not resist that power they

either had protection from, or protected by their service; no, not so much as to capitulate with them.

Thirdlie, We answer, that if this should be granted, That we might lawfullie resist, or withdraw our necks from the yoke of obedience to a Magistrate, because erroneous in his judgement, or Hereticall, it would open a gapp to a *perpetuall rebellion*, and draw a sword that should never be sheathed up: for there should never be any in Authoritie, but he would be an Heretick to some partie (everie one esteeming himself in the truth) though truelie Orthodox in himself: and then that Heretick might also judge it lawfull for him to resist that Magistrate, or unlawfull to obey him: and a third partie judge so of this, and so by sword and violence one will be alwaies crouding another out of the seat of Authoritie: How pernicious this would be to religion and common safetic, let any judge.

Fourthlie, We answer, That Heresie in a Magistrate is no sufficient plea for a Subject to resist his Authoritie, because Heresie is a corruption of the person, not of the authoritie: he errs as a man, not as clothed with Authoritie: he errs as imperfect in judgement, knowing but in part, not as a Magistrate; for an erroneous Christian may be a just and faithfull Magistrate: and if he tolerate wicked persons, and evil workers, it is contrarie to that end of his power to which by
God

God he was delegated, viz: *for the punishment of them that are evill*: and if he desinge his Sword against holiness & truth, he hath the more need of our prayers, and it behoves us the more earnestlie to implore the God of Heaven rightly to informe his judgment, & to direct his heart by his truth, to teach his fingers to fight, and his arm to sway the sword of justice for the Lord against all impie-
tie.

LASTLY, if this should be granted another absurditie must thence necessarilie follow: where must live the passive Christian? whete should we finde a *Martyr*? If we have libertie to resist an Heretical Magistrate, then how shall we leave all, yeild up our lives and goods for the testimonie of Christ and his Gospell? A Christian should go like a Lamb to the slaughter, but if he resist and prevail not, he will go like a *wilde Bull taken in the net*, and be led to his suffering like a Bear to the stake, truely like a Malefactor. All those exhortations of the Apostle, *to a patient running of the race, to long suffering, &c.* may be expunged as *Apocryphal*: that *cloud of witnesses* may then vanish away, as unneedfull to guide us. All the Saints of God in the primitive daies, when the Church was in her glorie, as well as in her darkness, understood not their Christian priviledges, if this be true. And the Gospell of Christ is yet imperfect, which amongst the publications of all its *glad tidings*, lest unrecorded this immunitie
purchased

purchased by his precious blood. And to what end should we have so rich a treasure of sacred promises, of a Crown of glory, Dominion, Rest, and Immortality; of a Resurrection to Christ, that shall judge the cause of his Saints, and of pleasures at the right hand of God for ever, made to the persecuted, afflicted, patient, well-bearing Christian? Why should we carve for our selves here on earth by resistance, and victorie, if we mean to enjoy our possessions, and our losses returned a thousand fold over in heaven for enduring? In a word, if we had such a Gospel libertie (or rather an Heathenish, or Brutish licentiousness) to resist under this notion, all the Doctrine and Examples of Christ, and his Apostles, would be to none effect.

Object. But it will be further enquired, what if the Magistrate be *Tyrannicall*, oppressive, and unjust, ought we then to obey him, and pray for him?

Sol. To this we answer.

First, If still this reflect on this present Government, we shall answer by Negation. *Tyranny* we know consists in the irregular, illegal, arbitrarie, irrational, immoderate, and by-ended exercise of power, the end being to satisfie some private lust of his or their own (that be in Authoritie) as pride, covetize, luxurie, revenge, &c. and not the common good. Now both in the way of administration, and in the portended ends of it,

(rebus

(*rebus extantibus*) this supposed *Tyranny* to my apprehension breaks not out, which appears upon these reasons, which I submit to the ingenious readers judgement.

1 Because these (I speak of them that sit at the *Stern*, those *underdeck* may assume more liberty to themselves unknown to the chiefe-ruling Magistrate) rule and govern by Law. Tyrants love not inclosures, to live and act in their Offices by prescript, but to walk in Forrest paths themselves, yet to have all things else submitted to their judgement, regulated by their will; their scales and countenances must determine cases, dispose of lives and estates; so that the subject must have no other Oracle then such a Magistrates mouth, and the very Law lies locked up in his breast; and if he stoop so farre as to ordaine lawes, they are to be no boundary to a tyrant, but an hedge to his people, in which there must be left such gapps and passages that he may act beyond, beside them; or else tread them downe at pleasure by verue of a supereminent prerogative overtopping all Law and Reason.

Now this is apparent to any impartiall apprehension; That such as chiefly rule in this present *Government*, live not, act not, govern not *thus*: they have embarqued themselves in the common Bottom with the subject, yeeld up themselves and all theirs to the triall of the *same Law* by which the meanest subject is tried: and if it be tyranny

in this present exigence of time, to tax & onerate the subject with new Impositions, I say, if this be oppression, they are then Tyrants and oppressors of *themselves*, and their own *friends* and *tenants*, being no wayes free themselves from them or any other burdens: and how irrational this is to any wise man, that men should advisedly oppress themselves, all may judge. The conclusion is, they act by Law, live under that Law in equall capacity with the meanest, which is no tyrannical Administration.

And to this we may add, that if any Law swel above the Liberty of the Subject, or their privileges, they are ready to entertain any information or motion to correct, or repeal (where a correction will not suffice) that Law: and so likewise to enlarge any Law that may make for the happiness and freedom of the subject in general: this many can assure of them in power, and all may know, that this hath no shew of Tyranny.

2 We must know, that a *Parliament being the Supreme Authority of this Nation*, (according to Mr. Pryn, &c.) and including alone the Legislative power, into whose hands by free and unanimous suffrage upon serious deliberation the people have committed their Liberties, Lives, and Estates; I say, they acting in Parliament upon the interest of the people, and in reference to the common welfare, according to their judgement, (to which all our National affaires are committed)

cannot

cannot be said in reason or conscience, to rule tyrannically over the people.

3 As to their ENDS, I am not able to reach them; but must leave that to him for to judge, whose nature and prerogative it is to search the hearts and try the reines, to weigh mens actions, & to judge according to mens thoughts: if their ends be evill, & corrupt, GOD in time will finde them out, blast their enterprises & overthrow them in the making up their Ends: When they have punished others, God will take them into his own hands, or create an unexpected scourge to punish them also. But in the mean while, this I can affirm of some chief Rulers, that they minde the publique affaires more then their own, and account it their being, to be spent for the Common Good. That they desire not revenge, thirst not after blood, but could let tears fall upon the wounds of their enemies: through patience and many speciall favours acted towards the Godly, (as yet dissenting from them) they would thereby make them their Debtors, and if it were possible bring them into one Fellowship. That they hate Bribes; and in time it will be manifest, that they will effectually promote and settle Religion in its puritie and unitie, according to the word of God, and religious policie according with the word of God: and advance it likewise by all other externall means that may properly conduce to it. And that through their means, the multi-

tude of Errors shall receive a total rout, and Truth ride in triumph. Of this we may assure our selves, if we may credit their personal practices, their affectionate, (and I hope sincere) appeals to God both in private, and publick; their solemn promises, and resolutions; their appeals to man upon their appeals to God, where in charity I am bound to receive such thoughts of them that such are carried off from Tyrannical ends, & intentions.

Secondly, But admit the worst, subscribe to the clamour, *That they act Tyrannically, endeavor to set up their own interests, ends, and actions*, yet that does not disoblige us from this our subjects dutie.

1. If Heresie and Idolatrie are not sufficient grounds to dis-authorize, and dis-office a Magistrate, then Tyrannic end oppression me thinks should not, *De jure*, Disoblige a people from their Dutie.

2. Tyrannic is an evill of a person in power, making use of that present power to bring forth and establish the evil thoughts, and base affections of his spirit: which power, if rightly administered, would overthrow Tyrannic and oppression; so that *durante officio*, we owe obedience to him, *viz.* his power, though he act contrarie to the ends of it.

3. We must examine, whether that Tyrannic be not in the extravagant uses of a limited power

power, bounded in by Oaths, Laws, Covenants, and solemn Stipulatory acts, contracted betwixt the Magistrate and the Subjects, or no. If it be an abuse of such a power, which he only hath received in trust, and so liable to account for the managment of it, he may be resisted by way of defence to prevent the utmost execution of his unguided will, least he should destroy himself, and them from whom, and for whom he hath received his power, (so that they that act herein, that examine and judge herein, be men in just authoritie) and if he prove incorrigible, and irreducible to act according to his Legal and intrusted power, he may be lyable to sentence, and stripped of his power.

The conditions on which the Subject sets up a power and Authoritie over himself ought to be performed, though to his slaverie and ruin, as in the case of *Saul*: but if the Subject doth faithfully perform his duty, and the Magistrate fail, (and that wilfully) in the performance of his conditioned durie, then the next subordinate Magistrates are bound by the Law of God and nature, to defend those subjects from oppression, and to require an account of the trust of the superiour Magistrates. If the superiour Magistrate sin alone against God in the execution of his Office, to God alone he is accountable: but if he be a Magistrate entering upon his Government in trust, and upon conditions, he stands responsi-

ble to them, to whom these conditions are made, or to them whom they appoint to require, examine, and determine according to the trust reposed in him, which must be by men noble and worthy, invested with a true and rightfull power.

4. A great cause of your rash condemnations, and exclamations against this power as Tyrannical, is from those unusual and extraordinarie impositions of Taxes. But know, that as a good Magistrate will not impose unnecessary burthens, so the good subject will take heed of wronging his superior, by calling that unjust and Tyrannicall, unto which the common necessity compels him. That which tends to the preservation of the whole, is not *Tyrannical*, though sometimes *Irregular*: and that supream Authoritie cannot act illegally, that hath power to alter, abolish and constitute Laws.

When the Magistrate sees the whole in great danger (nay, when a subordinate Magistrat perceives a part in a desperate estate on a suddain) it is then lawfull for him to proceed in the execution of his place against Law, & to use any means to that end, and not to stay for the ordering of those means by Law, till all be ruined: so it is lawfull to infringe some of the Subjects Liberties, to repair and maintain the rest of his Liberties.

I know such actions work much against the spirits of the wealthy and covetous Subject, who
minde

minde his own profit more then the publicks, & looks no further after the business of others, then he can work into his own: and therefore calls upon the Superiors for *Justice, Justice, Protection, Peace*: and the least *Prevarication* (though it belongs not to him to censure) will speedily open his mouth to cry out, *Oppression!* and *Tyrannie!* But take heed; while the Magistrate is *Minister Dei pro tuo bono*, repine not at him seeking thy good; condemn him not for such actions as *Tyrannicall*; such acts living no longer then thy absolute necessity informs them.

5. Admit that such actions have a relish of *Tyrannie*, yet then (a wiseman hath given advice) *That a dull humor in the Subject, is better then a sharp, and Patience better then a Sword.* To foster murmurings in the breast (which are but preparations for Rebellion, and a Civill Warre) is very dangerous: and our late experiences may teach and lead us to a patient suffering, rather then an impatient repining, which frequently precedes hazardous undertakings.

6 And if the continuance of troubles be so great (whether thorow the necessity of the publique or no) that they become very difficult to bee born, yet let us bear them as the servants of God did under those unreasonable and cruel Tyrants, *Nero, Caligula, &c.* and betake our selves to a solemn search, and serious repentance for sinne, the true cause of all those griefes in all relations, and persons,

persons, that so suffer; and if we be sincere therein, where in persons or estates we shall finde plain and sufficient cause preventing those troubles: which in the best sence must be afflictions inflicted to prevent worse, as we let blood to prevent bloody fluxes, Feavers, and such more dangerous diseases: as that faithfull *Hystoriographer* relates, before that long and grievous persecution of *Dioclesian*, the failings of the Church were great. *Cum nos præ nimia quadum licentiâ in molliem delicatam, & dissolutum lenitiem prolappi, cum alij alijs invidere, maledictis insectari, & prope nos ipsi inter nos petulantibus linguist anguam mutuis armis impugnare, &c. — Præsides ecclesiarum, alter alterius vires infringere, &c. — cumq; ficta & adumbrata pietatis species, &c.* Then fell the Church into the sad time of travell under that cruell persecutor, and hee by desolation put an end to the Churches divisions. Our actions in Church affaires renders the English of it; he that reads us, will interpret that. While then we groan under our calamities, let us presse out some groans for sin, let our complaints against Superiors be turned against our selves, let us water our chamber with teares for the divisions of the Church, and for the Magistrates also, that should *resarcire Ecclesiam dilaceratam*, stand in the gap and make up our breaches. To this penitence ad patience, bear it because so justly deserved, since wee have stretched forth the hand to fetch in and
 hasten

hasten these troubles upon our selves, Which carry upon them the legible characters of our sins, *Lam. 3. 39. Wherefore doth a living man complayn, a man for the punishment of his sins? why complayn? will that satisfy a provoked God? or will it affect the Magistrates? Calumniando peiores sunt Principes:* to wrong the Magistrates by our calumnies, is to make them to wrong us, to justify our calumnies. Can vexatious and unquiet complaints affect God? who delights to see us meek, and our souls possess and kept with patience, and to heare compassionate praier poured forth for our oppressors instead of discontented repinings.

7. Lastly, Thou lookest upon such Tyrants and oppressors as thy very enemies; thou art a private person, & hast no remedy left but to Petition for them to *thy God*, and for thy self to *them*, and this is thy holy duty. For they commit many evils in ignorance, oppressing, and persecuting others, yet may be vessels reserved for mercy, as *Paul*. Our Saviour tels us, *That there will be many such blinde Zelots in power; Seperabunt vos censure, & autoritatis vi, Iob. 16. 2. That shall, &c.* And this did not they, but with colour of piety and authority, Christ prayed for such, both Magistrate and People, that proceeded so high as to put him to death, *Luk. 23. 34. Father forgive &c.* It may be thou thinkest it a lesse matter to pray for their pardon and conversion,

peace and outward happinesse : but sure the mercy is greater, and the grounds are as warrantable for this, as that. How much is this disposition called for in us by the Lord, *to overcome their evil with our good* : Cruelty is overcome by Patience, and Tyranny by a quiet subjection ; Curses, by Blessings, injuries, by well-doings. *Iustin. in Colloq. cum Tryph. Col. Grot.* Thus writes of Christians, *ευχόμεθα καὶ ὑμῶν μετανοήσαντας πάντας ἰλαῖς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸν σπλαγχνὸν καὶ πολυελέη πατέρα τοῦ ὅλου τοῦ Θεοῦ* *We pray that they all repenting may find mercy from that God of all men, a pitiful and much merciful Father.* Should we look upon any man, and above all men, upon Magistrates to be our enemies, even above all men we ought to pray for them. Christ directs us unto this, as to a practise exceeding nature, and a discoverer of the excellencie of his Gospel-Doctrine, wherein he appears far more glorious then any other Teachers. *Mat. 5. 44, 45. But I say unto you, love your enemies, blesse them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you. That yee may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven, for he maketh his Sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust.* Where we finde an argument drawn from our likenesse to God himselfe, into which this practise would work us : For he indifferently rains blessings on the unjust as well as on the just : if thou wilt not let thy desires concur with

with his providence, if thou wilt not pray for blessings on the unjust, God will bestow them without thy prayers; yet though God do it without thee, and would if thou shouldst be silent, he hath appointed thee to pray, as a means to draw out those blessings.

We shall then close up this with that of S. Hierom, in Jer. 19. *Seek ye the peace of this City, ut simus non nostri tantum salute contenti, sed inimicorum quoq; queramus salutem*, So I say, seek the peace of this Common wealth, and silence those reasonings that may stirre you up to the deeds of the flesh, that you may not onely be satisfied with your own, without others happinesse, but that you might become instrumentall to save others with your selves, even your enemies.

CHAP. X.

YET there remains the two most difficult objections, that lie so much in the eyes of many pious men, that they cannot see their own dutie, and the things that belong to their owne peace.

Some object against the Lawfulnessse of this present Authoritie, and therefore owe to them no obedience, because they saw that they assumed by violence their authoritie to themselves, and so are no lesse then usurpers, whom we ought not to obey, nor pray for.

As the other objection reflected upon the *administration of Government obtained*, so this questions the *reception, and ground of the Government it selfe*, since it appears to many conscientious Christians to be violently taken, and that by the hands of private persons, and therefore neither to be obeyed, nor prayed for; For the resolution of which,

First, We shall lay down these following propositions to untie the knot it self, by declaring the nature of our former Government, and of usurpation it self.

1. To introduce the rest, I shall propose this Observation to any man that is but ordinarily
read

read in our English Chronicles. That the former power by which our Kings reigned, and under which our fore-fathers lived, was many times obtained by usurpation (the true natural Heirs either banished, imprisoned, or murdered by them) yet to them they yielded subjection, and swore allegiance; and by honour, and other secular preferments, having engaged certain flattering and ambitious subjects to them (for, for this end they claim the Origin of Nobility, and propriety in all mens estates to bestow them on such Favorites) who co-engaged multitudes of simple subjects (admirers of Persons and Titles, *Dependants* on their Families and Estates (injuriously taken from others, and given to them or absolute slaves to their redundant power) to maintain with their Lives and Estates such usurpers.

And hence it was that several families claiming the right of Succession, at one time have hurried the whole Common wealth into Civil broiles, and the blinde Subject not minding his own safety, hath served these particular interests, and been industrious to enslave himselfe to their private lusts.

And the like we read in all Histories of Foreign Nations, both Christian and Heathenish, That the beguiled Subjects through them, have been lead into such practises to the prodigall expence of Bloud and Fortunes, not caring for

themselves for whom Princes were made, but onely calculating on all passages their Princes will, as if for them they were onely made. And hence it hath been that all Nations have had so many *Procas*, who by blood have ascended the Royall Throne (affected without outward pomp and revenge) whom our *Fore-Fathers*, as well as *Forreiners*, most promptly have saluted as their *Dread Sovereign*, without question of right or title. Indeed Treachery, Sword, and all manner of violence have given possession to Kings, and by the same means have preserved it till they have been extruded as they entered: I could bring sundry arguments to discover this

First, By their fair pretences for Religion, sending it as the *Harbinger* to take up the hearts of the people for them, which they never practised in themselves minded, or loved it in others, and as suddenly laid it aside, when by it chiefly they have obtained their desires; and by these pretexts the zealously affected, and amongst them, even the Ministers of the Gospel have often unadvisedly been ready to carry their Ensigns, and to advance their Designs.

Secondly, By that difficulty in obtaining any indifferent Laws to establish the liberties of the Subjects, to give a little ease to their burthens, or in some small proportion to counterpoize the severall acts made in favour of particular persons, and Dependencies; and even those dearly bought,

bought, and as hardly wrung from them by piece-meal.

Thirdly, By that ingenuous subtilty in framing Lawes to Vassalize the persons and estates of the people to their Superiors, not in reference to the preservation of the whole (to which the Law of Nature, as well as of Nations summons us) but for the feeding of their Luxuriant practises, and securing their oppressive commands and jurisdictions; not that I grudge those priviledges which by Law and right belong to persons of *Authority* and *Honour* beyond the common Subject, but that they should not by their Priviledges endeavour to destroy the Subjects liberty: and an hard thing it was to finde a limit to their priviledges, when the Subjects liberties were hunted up into a narrow corner. Yet such was their blindenesse, and unsensiblenesse (through delusion or custom) that they never knew or complained of Tyranny, or usurpation, till this present age.

Secondly, To the Objection it selfe: it is the manner of usurpers to come with a pretence of right, as well as power, by which power they use to recover that right: the right is by way of inheritance and succession, lying in a natural descent, or collateral in marriage, or otherwise in Deed and Gift: for whereas the Gifts of Kingdoms (a large congratulation of Favourites) have been many, yet from such as have solely conquered them by sword, & as their right was small or none

David, against
Hanun.
Constantine
against
Licinius.

so it also as soon perished: but this hath been the chiefest practice of Heathens, or others provoked to Warre upon just grounds, as *David*, *Constantine*, and some others. But here we speak to the most specious plea of Succession, which, whether it be just and reall yea or no, yet if once actually posselt thereof, they will confirm it on their natural heirs.

Now in this alteration (called by some Vsurpation) of *Government*, they claimed no power to themselves as single persons, by virtue of any Hereditarie, and innate Right in themselves, more then in any other, but as publick, and representing persons in the name of the people, by whom they were Elected, in whom they speak, and act, and to whom they are accountable; and having dispatched their businesse for the people, they return into no greater a capacitie then any other Subject; having the same rule, enjoying the very same Lawes, and Immunities, performing the same obedience, having nothing beyond or beside the meanest Subject. Neither do they, nor can they perpetuate their Power in themselves, by conveying it to their Posteritie (from whom they did not receive it, and for whom it is too great to merit:) for it may be, that neither they, nor any of their Posteritie may ever be Parliament men again; but still remaining in the People (whose happinesse in Common, is the summe of all things, the end of all Powers:) he
that

that is now of the meanest ranke, through his abilities and improvements may merit the same place of Honour for his season, by the Election of the People.

Honour, and Titles of Dignitie, are Hereditarie (yet through transgression they also may be lost, and their places of Honour too:) but in no wise ought any power or places of trust lineally be descendent, but ought to remain in the choice of them for whom all power is, and in former ages hath been so to the greatest Offices in this Nation; else they would justly bring upon themselves that judgement (which is the most saddest and the most destructive of all Temporal judgements) *To have children, Babes, and Fooles to judge and reign over them*; which is inevitable if power be Hereditarie.

True, though the Nobilitie of the Land was, and is honourable in my eyes, especially such as have deserved it for their great services done for their Countrie, yet of late being created (as they call it themselves) out of nothing, stood in stead of nothing to the Common wealth. And being in Parliament the Commons had not at all the least interest in them, though created out of the out of the Commons (and therefore dissolvable into the same principles) nay, immediately out of the house of Commons, who to advance their private interests, might have turned all the Commons into Barons, & so left the whole People de-

solate; and usuall it was, when Princes found a worthy Patriot of the Peoples Liberties among them, to remove them by Honor, and crooken them with preferment.

3 Much strength of argument to prove this Alteration an Usurpation, in many mens judgements lies in this; Because the power was transferred from one partie posselt of it, and by right claiming it, to another by the hands of private persons, viz: the Army; who then were but servants to the Parliament, their Masters. To which may be returned:

1. Though servants have not a *mandative* power to lay their strict injunctions upon their Masters, to act, grant, and execute things correspondent to their servants judgements; yet they have a *negative* power, to refuse the acting of such things for their Masters as appear to them unlawfull: and in duty they are bound to restrain their Masters from such violent and unadvised prosecutions, that will evidently cast the whole both Masters and servants into inevitable destruction, if still followed on with industry and successe by the servants: and no further do I apprehend they did or ought to undertake. And though in many cases servants are not fitting and competent judges of the Results and Determinations of their Masters Counsels, yet they may and ought to examine and judge their own actions (especially tending to such dangerous & dubious.

dubious issues) and hearken to the rationall and regular dicrates of their own consciences : and men that have been led thorow various and wonderfull providences, exercised upon the same Businesse and Quarrell before, as now at their second Enterprizings, and to men of large experiences, and still continuing their close walking with God, and observing him in his and their own wayes, may bee let to see further into the things to come then others, and may discern further into the minde of God, may have stronger bonds and eggings of minde, whereby they may be able to inform their Superiors, and to which they are bound to yeeld up themselves, so it bee upon a godly and rational, consultation with the assistance of a lawfull power.

2 Admit still there remayn some appearance of resistance of Authority in them, yet wee know that they intended not the abolition of the Authority it selfe, which still they honour, obey, and stand by with all their interests: neither did they ever oppose the whol Authority, but assisted part of them, partners in that Authority. And this is most generally concluded as lawfull, that if lawfull Magistrates, though not so great nor numerous, as the rest, should countenance the subjects, they may oppose and correct the exorbitancies, and riotous extravagancies of the Superiour Magistrates; which yet ascended not so high, the Parliament being the only supream Au-

thoritic of this Nation, in which the subject properly resided and appeared; a part of which was opposed and ejected, of which there was a faire president of their own, who lately dealt so with the Malignant Partie of the same Parliament. And to this we may add, that many of them (thus called private persons) have been great instruments in the redeeming of our Liberties, whom still it likewise concerned to have some care in preserving of them, that they did not ungratefully and negligently cast away & lose what God had given into their hands: and into this they were led by men among themselves in just Authoritie *Civill* as well as *Marshall*. We may yet add, that there was the meanes of Servants, as petitions, &c. used before the least violence was offered, which when acted, did not transcend the former Outrages and countenanced Disturbances of Parliament in the same nature, if not worse: which I know cannot excuse any fault, but others calumnies may bee stopt by their own condemnation.

To conclude this; the Common Safety of Religion & Liberty is the End of all Governments, nay of all mens Lives, *nisi nobis solum natis*: and they cannot bee preserved without an establishd Government: and where any form of Government through the corruption of private persons, the contracted and encroached priviledges of great persons (through their customary continu-

ance,

ance, or subtile stealth on blind & sluggish ages) have worn away, and eaten up the Liberties of the Subject, and still stand directly opposite unto it, there may bee a Change and Alteracion of that Government, and no Usurpation : So long as that Government hath its full Authoritie & Majestie, so long as it layes aside personall & private interests, and thorow the reall maintenance of *Godlinesse, Peace, and Righteousnesse*, dissolves it selfe into the welfare of the Subject.

Secondly : But let us a little nearer close with this Objection, that appears so forcible, and fall under it ; shall wee a little admit the Objection, grant the thing, that really they have usurped the power of this present Government unto themselves ; yet

1. We must know that it belongs not to any private person to determine of the right of Government, nor to require an account of any Magistrate of the grounds of his Rule; it is his goodness if he satisfie private men with the reasons, & his Right therein, but it is not for them to demand those reasons of him ; no not by Petition, unlesse they have subordinate Magistrates to direct them therein, that so they may observe Order, and that it many be manifest to the Superiors that this action of theirs, proceeds not from a Riotous, and Rebellious combination. The greatest Plea against this, is the case of *Ahab*, who was deposed and executed by *Jehoiada* : but we

know that *Ieboida* was a publick Person, and of great authoritie, nearly allied to, and Protector of the supream Magistrate, a Godly and Holy man: and the present fact of *Athaliab*, was her evil intentions clearly against the judicial Law of God, and of that Nation, and was notoriously known to be Treasonable, which makes not for the Lawfulness of private persons to combine, aſſ, or aſſociat in any deſign againſt them that are in Power.

2. It becomes not private persons, eſpecially Malefactors, to demand the right of power of Judicature, but to maintain their innocencie by the known Law of that Nation, or if that Law be corrupt, then by the incorruptible word of God.

It is therefore in the collected observations of Marlor. in Rom. 13. *Non enim eſt poteſtas, &c. Quum igitur quaeretur, cui parendum, non eſt ſpectandum qualis ſit, qui poteſtatem exercet, nec quo jure vel injuria, quis poteſtatem invaſerit, quare ratione eam adminiſtret: ſed tantum ſi poteſtatem habeat, ſi enim qui poteſtate pollet, jam indubitatum eſt illum a Deo eum poteſtatem accepiſſe, &c.* Chriſtian, doſt thou ſee the Magiſtrate upon the Bench, or in any place of judgement, queſtion not who, or whence he is, he hath power, that is certain, & that power is of God.

3. When a Power or Government is eſta-
bliſhed, no viſible authoritie lawfull, oppoſing, or
diſputing

disputing the same : it is good for us to yield ourselves up unto it, to studie the peace of it, to pray for it, *that under it we, &c.* It is no lesse dangerous to a mans soul, then to the people where he lives to resist it, if he impartiallie examine upon what solid grounds he can do it.

Lastlie, What was said for an *Hereticall*, for a *Tyrannicall Magistrat*, may be said for an *Intrusive*, it is but *Error Personæ, non Officii*. *The Person sins, not the Power.* The Power was, and is good, and all manner of Governments have been abused, and to them all we owe our dutie, under which we live, which is the summe in all, though diversly, and by severall administred. And sure it is, if we make appeal to them, as we must do that lives under them, we must appeal to God for them, to direct them in all their determinations, for the Churches good, and our own also, in civil affairs.

Object. But suppose I have sworn, *to be true and faithful to a Government contrary to that under which I live*, ought I then to obey and pray for that Government I live under?

Sol. 1. Certain it is that we ought to make a Conscience of all our Vows, Promises, Oathes, Covenants, Protestations, and Engagements, and as sure it is, that he that will sleightly, and upon easie grounds lay aside such, will as easily let go any of the Commands of God in his practise, especially if we made them upon serious considerations,

tions; holy preparations, and in the times of our necessitie; and have had some gracious responses according to the occasionall grounds thereof. And indeed in their own nature they are Divinely Obligatorie, and sits close upon a tender conscience; for though we make them to man, and about some Civil affairs, yet it is in the presence of God to his creature; and thy brother; and it is his command for thee to perform all thy Vows. *Psal. 15. 4. He that sweareth, &c. Eccles. 5. 4, 5. When thou vowest, &c.*

2. Yet there is difference of promises made to man, of man, and of promises made to man of God, in mans stead, though the truth and faithfulness of them both ought to be the same. For 1. the promises made to God of himself, may disoblige us from promises made to man; but no promises made of man, can disoblige us from them made to God: and so of mixt promises, partly of God, and partly of man, where both cannot be performed, man must be thrust out first. 2. Promises made to God, bindes more firmly to the performance of that, which in equitie we ought to have performed, had we not promised it; but promises made to man are oft of such things, to the performance of which, we were free as of our selves. 3. Promises made to God bindes for ever (if not in things indifferent, but them made to man, bindes not for ever, because first in their relatives there is corruption. The man bound, & the

the man to whom he is bound, may de cease; and Nature it self teaches, that *Vno sublato tollitur alterum*, and *relatum non potest subsistere sine suo correlato*; one relative being taken away, so is the other in respect of that relation, & obligation: *alio moritur cum persona*, is true in moral, as well as in Common Law. The *Apostle* hath a similitude that might illustrate this plainly; *Rom. 7. 2. If ye, &c.* the woman which hath an husband, is bound by the Law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law & bond of her husband. This is the nearest relation that can be, in which there is a certain oneness, and if on these terms the relations, & all the obligations are dissolvable, then much more in relations more remote. Again; Secondly, there is a change in man himself: God is immutable, he cannot, he wil not disoblige any man from promises made to the stricter observance of his wil, but man may: & if he that made the covenant or promise dissolve it, it is dissolved, I mean him to whom it was made; and by whose power it was made: the reason is good; he sees no necessity of such an obligation to him, and it being for his sake, his safety, honor, &c. and a burthen to the obliged; the one party may part wth his own right, to ease another. *Iuramentum promissorum quo aliquid promittitur homini, tantum in eius gratiam desinit obligare, si ille cui factum est promissum vel remittat, vel tollat fundamentum illud quo nitebatur.* Ames. Med. l. 2. c. 10. The

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substance.

stance of an Oath must be just and possible; it is a sin to promise what is not good to be done, or being promised cannot be done. To promise any thing contrary to the minde of God, is absolutely sinful, & from that God does immediatly disengage thee; to promise that thou canst not do, is by consequence a sin, because thou dost it not. Sometimes God disobliges us from the performance of our Promises, when he blocks up our waies by his providence, and will not let us perform them. The Lord hath clearly appeared herein to us in his visions of providence, wherein he hath not walked obscurely under second causes, but above them, and made his own arm bare before us all, and he himself stood in the way against the political ends of the Covenant, *litterally expressed in it*: & though providences be not an assur'd justification of precedent actions, yet the succession of them, & that in a more then ordinarie way, have a propheticall Declaration in them, and in minde us of the will of God *de futuro*, that he will establish such a government whom he much owns, and will make us that labors in it, to understand that of *Nebucadnezar*, *Dan. 4. 32. that the most*, &c. To close this, the main ends of the Covenant binds us more strongly to the performance of that, which without a covenant we are bound to perform, and to clear us before men, &c. and I hope I have great assurance (as much as man can have in man) that the main & principal ends thereof, this present power will bring home unto us.

Chap.

CHAP. XI.

THis truth, that is, the Duty of a Christian Subject to pray for the Magistrate, for that government under which he lives, may have its application,

1. To the subject, whom it *Corrects, Directs, Informs.*

1. *It corrects the erroneous, whereof the chiefe is,*

1. The Jesuited Papiſt, that would have a su-

pream power in the Pope, the universal Vicar of Christ over the whole world, to depose and enthron what Magistrats he pleases, to set up a *Phe-*

cas, &c. as also to change government at his pleasure, to cause the subject to withdraw his due obedience from the Magistrate, & instead of praying for him, *Excommunicates*, & *Curses* him with *Bel,*

Book, and *Candle*. He likewise assumes to himself the power of *Dijudication* in all causes: denying that any *Clerk* or *Person* in *Orders*, shall appeal unto any Magistrate but his *Ordinary*. As the

Apostle excepts none from Magistrates, so no subject from his duty: pray for all men, &c. let *Timothy*, &c. all the Church at *Ephesus*, Minister & people pray for him. *Si omnis anima & vestra, quis vos*

excepit ab universitate? si quos tentant excipere, tentat decipere, saith a Father; if every soule (must be subject to the higher powers) then yours also; who hath excepted you from this universality? be that

Vid. Willet. 7.

gen. cont. in.

Synop. l. 1. p. 36

Ger. de Magis.

Pol r. p. 164. &c

Iewel &c.

Bern. ad. Hecr.

Epist.

would except you, would seduce you. 2. The giddy Anabaptist, that would have a parity amongst all Christians, fellow creatures, fellow Christians, and fellows in all things, and because free by Christ in their souls, therefore free from all humane obedience. What have I to do with civil Powers and Magistrates. &c? saith he: nay, he would not have a civil Magistrate in a Christian Common wealth. Alas man! what wouldst thou do? how wouldst thou defend thy self, and gain redress for injuries acted by evil men. The very unreasonable creature might argue thee out of this opinion: but thou saist, that thou wouldst have all men to live by that law which is in them: alas, what is the Law of the thief, the Murtherer, the dishonest person, the man whose heart is hardened, and conscience seared up? and will there be no such in the best Common wealth? But thou wouldst not have a Christian by any means take upon him the Office of a Magistrate. There is more need of them then any; because there is not such able men, and good Christians in that office: it is, that justice is refused, judging mens causes by their persons, and not their persons by their causes. The Apostle checks the Christian *Corinthians* for this, 1 *Cor. 6. 1. Dare any*, &c. sure it is that the Saints the Apostle spoke of, so able to judge betwixt brother and brother, are very precious in these our daies; however its to be wished there were more, that might deserve fuller prayers, and freer obedience from the subject.

Secondly,

Vid. Aquin. 22.
q. 104. Art. 6.
Rutterford;
Well, Ger, &c.

*Secondly, It directs the truly pious, and
Christian Subject.*

1. In point of Conscience, thou lookest upon many in Authority, as really: base, and unworthy: Persons of profane lives, corrupt judgements, easily byassed, & onely filling up a place, nay, dishonouring that place; well, thou sayest that thou darst not put up any request for them, they and their practises are so abhominable in the eyes of God, I am affraid, to pray for them is a sinne, at the least a vaine petition. Truly, that place is to be lamented that are served with such Magistrates; but are they Magistrates, and so bad and unable? then they have the more need of thy prayers; for want of them they are so bad, it may be. But however in the meanwhile you must distinguish between the Person and the Office: the Office addsto the Persons, the Person stake not from the Office; their personall iniquities, or officiall corruptions lessons not their Authority, Power, Superiority, Magistracy, but because of this, thou fearest least thou shouldest sinne in praying for them: it is thy duty, and thou sinnest in not praying for them. Thou hast a bad Child, a bad Father, a bad Minister, darst thou not pray for them because they are such? nay pray the more constantly, and the more fervently, the higher their sinnes cry, the lower let thy prayers cry; the worser that thou dost finde them, the more doe thou pittie them. When thou prayest for them, thou prayest not that they might succeed in their iniquities, but become just; not to prosper and continue

in evill, but to turne from every evill way; thou ownest not, but bewailest their faults; thou partakest not in their sinne, but wastest thy hand, thy conscience from it; and if there be any vertue, any grace, any thing of God in them, of that thou shalt rest, in that thou rejoycest.

Moreover, as I have oft fore-spoken, the Apostle makes no distinction of Magistrates; he saies not, for such a Magistrate thou shalt intercede, and for such an one thou shalt not; he points not out the Magistrates in their manners, and qualifications, but for all that are in Authority we must put up all manner of prayers; and all Persons as are to performe this, the poorest Christian that lives upon the almes of Magistrates must pay to them the Subsidies of prayers (granted in the high Court of Heaven,) to them as Magistrates.

2. In a duty, *viz.* to turne thy prayer into practice; what we sincerely pray for, we ought diligently to labour for, using our prayers as the watering of our endeavours; else our prayers will prove a derideing and tempting the Almighty. Thou that prayest for all that are in Authority, that under them thou mayest leade a quiet, and peaceable life in all godlynesse and honesty, to walke toward the Magistrate, & so act in thy place & calling, that thou mayest lay hold on that for which thou prayest, and helpe to worke out that peace which thou so fervently desirest. *Inefficax petitio est, cum precatur Deum sterilis oratio*; a barren, an idle, and a starving prayer is an ineffectuall desire; a naked wish is

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no prayer; but what thou actest as thou prayest lawfully, thou discoverest the heartinesse and sincerity of thy prayers, and offerest a double service unto the Lord. Make use then of such opportunities as are in thy hands, and make them subservient to the Magistrates power; for let him use all his skill, and whet his sword for the procuring hereof, yet in vaine will his endeavours be, without the readinesse and willingness of the Subject, who not for slavish feare but tender conscience, not for mans sake but the Lords sake, shall apply himselfe to make use of his directions, and thereunto make use of his owne interests in family, among friends, in all his relations publick and private, *Non enim inquitur* sayth the Apostle, *so follow after* and prosecute peace, as if thou wouldst nere cease till thou hadst overtaken it. Let every man take his Oare, and with all the might and strength he hath row in some part of the Ship of this Nation to preserve it from sinking and splitting against these many Rocks that appeare in every passage of this Common-wealth. Let the Master of a Family, the Minister of a Congregation, and every private man conferre what he hath hereunto; let the lines of all our callings be drawn to this as to the Centre; then undoubtedly the labours of the Magistrate will prove effectuall; joyne therefore together hand and tongue, pray and worke, cry to him, cry for him, assist him in the worke to this end.

*Thirdly, this informes a Christian of himself
and the Magistrate.*

1. Here is a glasse presented to thee wherein
T 2 thou

thou mayest see thy owne heart; deale uprightly with thy self according to this Rule; what are thy aimes and intentions in praying for the Magistrate? are they for peace? that is well; a Magistrate, if a good man may see another good mans heart by his owne: he desires a true and lasting peace. *Qui vere pacificus est, etiam belligerando pacificus.* Aug. his mind is so bent after peace, that he fights, he warres, he kills and demolishes places with a peacefull minde. *Pacem debet habere voluntas, bellum necessitas, non pax quaritur ut bellum excitetur, sed bellum geritur, ut pax acquiratur.* Though the Church of God, the Christian Magistrate, and Christian Subject does hate the necessity of Warre and prayes against it; yet warres, that she might obtaine it, she desires a peace, which is as the warme beames of the glorious Sunne to blossoming truths: holinesse can never shine without peace to cherish it; and I believe, if the eyes of many of this Common-wealth were truly opened, they should see the losse of holinesse and truth in these late times of warre would exceed her gaines. Warre is no friend to truth in it selfe, nor to the powerfull and constant practice of godlynesse; and every private Christian may finde this in himself, if he be possesse of a divided, wracked, and discontented, and troubled minde, for that while holinesse will be ebbing, himself abating, and flagging in the wayes of God: nay, ordinary Disputes and Divisions in Religion are no succourers of grace, but suckers and dryers up of it; oh then its amiable peace that thou desirest, but is it that alone? thou

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art weary of trouble, and the feare of warres perplexes thee, thou longest for peace: peace, oh how earnestly thou lookest for a messenger of peace, how welcome wouldest thou bid him to thy house, that thy burthens might be removed, and thy murmurings stilled; that as *Psalm. 144. 12, 13, 14. That our Sonnes might be as plants grown, &c.* this prayer proceeds from thy fleshly affections, thou mayest see by thy purely carnall ends; thou seekest a *Magistrate* alone for thy selfe to 'satissie thy private and peculier interests, and so long mayest thou pray in vaine. *Jam. 4. 3. Te aske and receive not, because ye aske amisse &c.* but wouldest thou have a *Magistrate* whose wings might protect and nourish a godly man, under whose Government thou mightest lead an holy life, as well as a peaceable? thou wouldest have Holinesse, Peace, Truth, quietnesse hand in hand; thou hadst rather live under an *Hezekiah* and be besieged in *Jerusalem*, then sit as a Prince upon one of the Thrones of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and be forced to bow unto an Image, or be hindred from a free serving of thy God, the God of Heaven. Piety is more beautifull then Tranquility; thou hadst rather be a doore-keeper in the House of God, then sit and faire deliciously in Princes Courts; both are pretious blessings, but a good man cannot be satisfised with peace alone: present him with Riches, and Honour, and Peace, and an eleven of the choicest and goodliest blessings thou canst pick forth of Gods Treasury, yet if *Benjamin* come not, he is full of sorrow; for the life of a good man is bound up in

the life of godlinesse and holinesse: therefore he dares not pray for peace alone: for had he his outward peace compleated, he could not be at peace, while he sees wickednesse on high, and iniquity abounding, and sinne in preheminance, and eminent places; he cannot be at peace while ungodlinesse and unholynesse is at peace and reconciled to Authority; his peace is a broken peace, his life a dying life. Then peace indeed is sweet if not imbittered through ungodlinesse; an unholy peace is ill, and therefore he desires a quiet & holy life, a power protecting persons and goods, a power advancing holinesse and truth: such a *Magistrate* he prays for, he prays that every *Magistrate* might be such. *Heb. 12. 14. Follow after peace and holyness, &c.* and he would not have these two separated, which God hath joyned together. Protection from open enemies, and Seditious risings: encouragements to Piety and holy practices: deliverances from aspersions and cruelty; the least of the blessings is the last, yet a very precious and an acceptable mercy: If peace, if holinesse; yet if we could not enjoy our owne, we were still unhappy; if a peaceable, if seemingly an holy *Magistrate*, yet if not honest he would be a burthen to us; though if we were really assured of the two first, the last would undoubtedly follow: honesty being the least part of a Christian, the streame of his holy heart, and that wherein a Hypocrite and ignorant person might equall him; yet sure it is, a *Magistrate* that sets a sure guard over his Subjects for a quiet and holy life, will judge righteously;

ously ; and though *Morality* be a common vertue, yet its the desire and endeavour of the Christian Subject, being the outward illustrating forme and credit to holinesse and truths profession, and gives a sweet relish to, and is the happy solemnization of outward peace. Examine therefore the true frame of thy spirit, and thy earnest desires, when thou prayest for the *Magistrate*, is it really for the happy uniting of these three, Peace, Godlyness, and Honesty ? dost thou set thy eye upon that promise made to the Church, and put it into petitions, *Psalme. 85. 10 Mercy and Truth are met together, &c.* if this be thy temper, its according to the Apostles rule.

2. This presents unto us the necessity of *Magistrates*, in what need the Servants of God, the Church of God stand of them, since by the Apostles order and command they must be so seriously, and earnestly prayed for ; for had not the Servants of Christ such to defend them, they above all others should have the least quietnesse, or honest dealing : could not they suck the milke of righteousness and peace out of the breasts of *Magistrates* ; the breasts of *Mammon* and all the world besides would yeild them nothing but poison. Nay amongst themselves, their peace would soure into confusions, Truth would be laid under Errors, Profanenesse out-justling holynesse, Ordinances made common and defiled, instead of Honesty, injurious and uncivill dealings, had we not *Magistrates* many times to step in to heale Church-breaches as well as the Common-wealths. What great paines that good Emperor *Constantine* tooke.

tooke for the peace of the Church, and removing differences occasioned by some erroneous persons; he writes letters frequently to severall men of ability, and to their Counsellis; he fights with his Armies against their Adversaries, he comes in his own person to the generall Assemblies, & there woes & beseecheth them to peace, as if he had as particular a charge as any of them; he was a true *Nurcing Father*, fed them with rich favours, and hushed the wranglings of godly men, he gave them the breasts of the world, Riches, Honour, Wealth, and Peace to such to live on, nay as if that was not deare enough, he gives his blood for them, and indures those miseries to conferre on them and preserve with them the contrary blessings. And not onely in this respect have the people of God a *Magistrate*, but in other respects to regulate their conversations; they have corruptions as well as others, which may budge out into as notorious acts as in the wicked: sometimes they may fall out about the world, estates, &c. & fall into great civill differences many times; these need not onely a brother to motion, but a *Magistrate* to command peace, and absolutely to determine the cases amongst them, whence else are those exhortations, *1 Thes. 4. 6. That no man goe beyond, &c.* a caution, *1 Pet. 4. 15. But let none of you, &c.* that a check, *Jam. 4. 1. From whence come warres and fighting, &c.* a good man hath the same roote-sin, and the same temptations, that same tinder, and the same presented to it as ungodly men have, that they may happen to fall into the same evill and condemnation with others; there.

therefore Gods people had need to pray for good and wise *Magistrates*, that may play the part of a skilfull Phisitian to know how to search and judge of the sinnes of Persons, in the nature of them, and how to apply his remedie, and in what degree and measure. What a sad time was it in *Israel*, when they wanted a Prophet in the Church, a Judge and Governour in the Common-wealth; Brave times might some unbounded Spirits say, but see *Judz. 17. 6.* *In those dayes there was no King in Israel, &c.* (That is, no Government, for as yet they never had any King in their most happy and flourishing estate) *but every man did that, which was good, &c.* What a sad Nation should we have, if every man might doe so, if every party unjustly head themselves, and every person follow his own way, every man be his own Judge, Law-maker, Executioner, Councillor, and Interpreter. Finde me a Nation without men of licentious spirits, and irregular principles; and could you finde a Common-wealth of Saints, yet even then there might be need of a Magistrate: both for the Politicall order and beauty of the Common-wealth, and for the prevention of evils that may arise, and the preservation of such happineses which may be lost; it being no lesse difficult and honourable to preserve, then to acquire such blessings. As he must cast out, so he must keepe out that evildoer, and there is required no lesse wisdom and watchfulnesse in a *Magistrate* to make and maintaine a fence so strong as to keep out such persons; that may insnare these happy Priviledges, as to extirpate

tiſpate and ſuppreſſe them being rooted amongſt his; No marvill the Apoſtle requires us to pray for them in all manner of prayers, which they themſelves ſtands in ſuch great need of; the more thou obſerveſt the Common-wealth, and the more thou enquireſt out the reaſons hereof, the more wilt thou be convinced of the neceſſity of this Duty.

CHAP. XII.

NOW touching the *Magiſtrate* himſelfe; all lies not on the Subject himſelfe: when Servants, and Children, and Wives are exhorted to love, reverence, obedience, &c. It intimates a Relative duty owing from the Maſter, the Father, the Husband; as it is in all relations, there are mutuall conditions that both of them are bound unto. Onely in generall, let the *Magiſtrate* make this uſe of this Chriſtian practice, Its a proper Duty of a Subject to pray for his *Magiſtrate*.

1. Here you have the Eſſay and Character of a true Subject, ſee his Diſpoſition, his Affection, his heart taken out of him and laid before thee: mans languages one to another are no certaine discoveries of their minde, but their prayers, which they dare not counterſeite when they goe to their God and Father, who is the ſearcher and trier of the heart and reines. Nay they not onely ſometimes pray for the *Magiſtrate*, but they make it their buſineſſe, this is a chiefe thing that in the firſt of all things
they

they must place, even the happy Government of the *Magistrate*, and that they might enjoy a true Subjects life : as God hath committed them to thy hands, so they commit thee and thy Government into Gods hand ; what thou labourest for, they truly pray for, that the Lord would enable thee with such Graces and Gifts, to guide thee by his Spirit, and so guide himself too, that thou mayest rule and govern in Peace, Holinesse, and Honesty, see here his heart running in unto thee, his affections making hast to meete, his endeavours striving to answer the summe of a good Magistrates desire, and to delight him in his own happinesse ; If thou beest a *Magistrate* and affected with men of other tempers, thou art no lover of thy selfe or the Common-wealth : if thou seest men otherwise disposed, be assured that they are not true Subjects according to Gospel interpretation ; or if any of Gods people faile herein : blame not the truth and the way they professe, they have been instructed in other Principles, better Rules are laid before them to walke by.

Then the *Magistrate* ought not to account him as the onely faithfull Subject, that is a solicitous informer, fills his eares with groundlesse complaints, that straines, squeezes, and forces the actions of men to speake in such a Dialect ; that as he hates them that are good, so he would set at difference the *Magistrate* and them that are good ; sure it is (how charitably soever such as are in Authority, and judge of them, and howsoever they may use them as profitable to themselves, (unlesse in apparent cases of

necessary, peace it selfe being concerned in it) yet they are according to the first qualification of the Apostle, the worst Subjects a *Magistrate* can have, bringing much dishonour on him that hearkens to them. For as the Prophet describes them, *Isa. 29. 20, 21. They watch for iniquity, that make a man offend, &c.* These men cannot live but in the flame of revenge, and the fire of envy, they delight in the disquietation and ruine of others, and therefore labour by suggested lies, and wire-drawn Truths to perplex the minde, to wrack and torture the Name and Estate of the true Subject, that truly desires to lead a peaceable and quiet life; yet questionlesse the eminency of their affection, and the exactnesse of their subjection appears onely in this.

Againe this informes, that a wicked person cannot be a true Subject; the contentious man being an enemy to Peace, disquiets the innocent Members of Jesus Christ; so the ungodly man is inwardly an hater of the happinesse of the godly, and would be ready to entertaine, and violently to prosecute motives that might beget the disquietnesse of the Righteous; and if he should follow the Principles of his owne heart, he can neither rule as a good *Magistrate*, nor obey as a good Subject; how can he pray for the *Magistrate*, that never prayed for himselfe: his prayers as well as his person bring an abomination; The prayers of the Righteous availe much: In truth the wicked man is subject to none but the Divell and his owne vile affections, neither can he be; while an evill Spirit rules in him

him as in all Children of disobedience. He onely loves a *Magistrate* like himself, and delights to make him like himselfe, *Hos. 7. 5, 6, 7. In the day of our King, &c.* delights to see him live like himselfe, *Rom. 1. ult.* But heare how they will sound forth the commendations of a Minister of Justice, that will countenance or connive at their wickednesse : and its easily knowne in a County what a *Magistrate* is, by the persons that weare his Livery, and the Herauld of his Name ; for such as the Subjects are, such is the *Magistrate* by whom they live : especially he is such in his Admirers and Agents. We reade that this Title is given to the *Magistrate*, who is said to be *caput populi*, the Shepherde of his people, but sure it is : the ungodly persons are the scab of his Flock, and a curse of his Government ; the ungodly person is the Tinder, the Contentious person is the Fire, while these two receive countenance from the *Magistrate*, the best of the Subjects shall enjoy little peace.

2. This may serve to guide the eye, and direct the heart of a good *Magistrate*, where he ought to place it ; it may teach him, what value and esteeme he ought to place on the righteous man, considering what fruits he properly beares, so long as watered by the Doctrine of the Apostles, *viz. Peace, Godliness, Honesty.* If thou beeest a gracious Ruler, and desirest so to governe the people, thou wilt delight in, and receive to thy selfe such as meet thee in the ends of thy Government. *Cornelius* was a good man, and loved men like himselfe, as good though

not as great as himselfe; such shall be neereſt his person, and things of trust committed to them. *Act. 10. 7, 8. He called two of his household servants, and a devout &c.* In those dayes it was a dangerous thing to be a Patron of the Apostles, or any Ministers of Christ; if it had beene knowne but to their Heathenish Emperour, or any of their Depuries, he had lost his place of Command, if not his Life: yet with this businesse (he had such good servants of such fidelitie) he durst intrust them. Therefore saith the wisest of Magistrates, *Prov. 16. 13. Righteous lips &c.* such is the nature of him, and then he directly moves towards the divine ends of his Office, *Rom. 13. 3. for Rulers are not &c.* Mark the resolves and practises of that good and upright King, *Psal. 101. 2. I will behave my selfe wisely in a perfect way:* What is that way? See one step he struck therein, *vers. 6. Mine eyes shall be upon &c.* They ought to have a good man in high esteeme for his workes sake; and above all, for the inward frame of himselfe, which is compounded of Peace, Holinesse, and Righteousnesse. You may behold him keeping just Lawes before they be, and helping the Ruler to that Peace and Righteousnesse in his way, that a Ruler cannot helpe himselfe unto, by reason of the defect of his Law: a true Christian makes it his businesse privately and publicquely to pray and act for this: No sooner are good Lawes made, but he rejoyces in them, lives more securely from evill men, but no more securely in himselfe, having the same standing Law in his Conscience, nay, being a living Law to himselfe.

King

King *James* used to say of a good Justice, that he was his best subject, and none deserved better of him; and sure the Countrey may say as much of him, as a Magistrate amongst them: But what will Magistrates say, when they see Christians walking like so many *Justices*, keeping Court in their owne Consciences; and were there no Law, durst not offend, nor breake the peace of common societie? Sure such are to be had in honour, that are so readie to every good worke. I know, that there are many in authoritie at this present, to whom good men are deare to them as the apple of their eye; yet againe I know them to be but men, and may receive accusations privately suggested (having many comming to their eares) and such being received, and the minde possessed of them, its an hard thing to unsettle them, and remove them from the affection; anger inveterated turnes to malice, and that to worse; and some Rulers are too apt many times to spend their judgements, according to a sudden apprehension, or present information. A Ruler ought to be very carefull herein, against whomsoever he receives any thing, or speaks, especially of a good man, whose heart is or shall be thus disposed presently to Peace, Holinesse, and Honestie in all things; and in some particulars that obliquely seemes to oppose some of these, gives him leave soberly & solidly to come up unto them: in the meane time, let him not lose that esteeme and good affection, that is due from thee to him; which another day thou shalt be forced to acknowledge.

3. This

3. This shoves in what a perillous estate the *Magistrate* stands : his foote is set upon a Hill, which if either to wet or to dry may prove ill for him : he therefore hath not onely need of his own prayers and watchings, but of others, of all good Subjects under them, of whole Congregations, Ministers, and People : that their prayers ascend with the greatest strength and force to the Throne of Grace : God requires us thus to act and intercede to himsele for them : the great danger they are in, appeares by the the necessity of their & our prayers, and the great care that God takes of them, who can thus blesse and prosper from himsele, yet not without meanes, this must not be forgotten above all things, this doe *first of all* : and this must be constantly at all times being a generall direction, *first of all* ; slight not this, God himsele hath put up a Bill into thy hands every time thou goest into the Pulpit, *Pray for all that are in Authority* ; and good reason, their temptations are so many and so great, Satan waiting on Ministers, and Magistrates at all times, to be a lying Word in the mouth of the Prophet, and a false sentence in the mouth of the Ruler : for if they erre, many erre with them, and in their ruines many perish. Moreover they doe Judge and speake for the Lord, and as in his stead and place, and thence doe their sinnes much reflect upon the Lord ; and they doe judge the Lords people, and his Inheritance, which ought tenderly to be respected : there be many extraordinary and occasionall employments, that they need constantly to stand under the dropping

droppings of the *Olive tree*, and we alwayes to be putting up our supplications for them, for supplying influences of Courage, Integrity, cleareness of Judgement and Wisdome.

And here againe is taught them, that as the care of the people lies on them, so good people beares much care for them: they are affraid least they should slip or faile in the discharge of their places; if they doe, they mourn over them, they seek to restore them, being very sensible of their conditions, knowing what losse the people of God may suffer by them. And if such be the charge of others for them, how great need have they in humility, godly temperance, and vigilancy to be overseers of themselves, and frequently to examine their owne hearts and wayes, and fall fully to attend the Lord in prayer, and all other meanes for strength and direction.

CHAP. XIII.

Herein by way of reflection, the *Magistrate* may take a view of his own duty to the Subject; what the Subject is bound to seek for of God, what they are bound in duty to endeavour to performe to him, for the *Subject* prayes that he he might lead a quiet, godly, and honest life under him, and to enable the *Magistrate* so to rule and governe, that his Government may conduce hereunto, which ought to be his study: should he not pray

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for

for him, and this calls upon me to handle the other part, the Rulers duty, and how just the expectations of the *Subject* are from him for their blessings: but I must leave this for another opportunity, which I hope God may cast into my lap, onely in present receive these brieife Observations.

I. Let the *Magistrate* endeavour a confluence of these three, *Peace*, *Holineſſe*, and *Honesty*: let him not ſatiffie himſelfe as a Politicall perſon, with *Peace* and *Honesty*, but if it pleaſe God to bleſſe him with them, ſtrive by way of gratitude to re-
turne the other for thy ſelfe upon the *Subject*; you have a dutious intereſt in them all, though ſome-
what different, yet ſo greate as to promote the re-
moſteſt from your power, *Truth* and *Holineſſe*, you ſee how the Lord is pleaſed to joyn them in promiſe, *Jer. 33. 6. Behold, I will give unto them health, &c.* What we have laid up in promiſe, we ought to ſtrive each of us in our calling (which may con-
ferre ſomething to it) to draw that forth, thoſe that eſtabliſh a laſting *Peace*, muſt build it upon theſe two Columnnes, without which it will inevi-
tably ruine, and thoſe will be ruined that lie under it; let it otherwiſe be laid upon the ſtrongeſt Baſis of Policy. I never read otherwiſe in the Hiſtory of any Church, either *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian*, but where either of them two periſhed: either the Govern-
ment it ſelfe, or at leaſt the *Magiſtrate* periſhed. When God would in a Viſion repreſent to *Nebu-
ſadnezzar* (and therein to every *Magiſtrate*) his charge, he adumbrates him by a Tree, it was in it
ſelfe

selfe great and strong, though made so by the hand of God, that for Beasts it might be both for food and shadow, and for Fowle to build their nests in the spacious and loving armes of it; The interpretation is cleare.

2. That the Corruption of a *Magistrate*, or his Tyranny (as some terme it) consists as much in the no-execution of his power, as in the licentious exceedings of the bounds of his just power; Its an hard thing to keepe in measure, though he must exceedingly endeavour it, that he neither too much slacken, nor too much streighten his golden Reines; For besides his own sinne, and danger herein, its too subject to the unadvised Subject, to murmure without just occasion. Sloath and baseness of spirit is as much detestable, as rigidity, and pride: there is partiality in both. Loose not what you can doe, where it is good or safe; overact not what you may doe, though to your owne profit; yet there is lesse danger in the excesse then in the defect, though this be much to be lamented, other as much to be hated. For an oppressive Tyrant is more tolerable for good men, and more wholesome to a Common-wealth, then a Partiall, Idle, Fearefull, or unwise Magistrate, that will not, or cannot use that Authority committed to him: for at such times we have multitudes of Tyrants, and concludes with destruction to the whole oftentimes.

3. Acts of policy should not suspend Acts made, or delay Acts to be made for Piety and Honesty: Lay first these as the foundations of Peace, and God

himselfe will build a glorious Structure for us ;
build Gods House, and God will build our houses.
We see in that Text that the Church in the first
place would pray for *Magistrates*, so *Magistrates*
in the first place would act for them. The Philoso-
pher, that had more reason then Faith, could say,

Arist. Pol. 7.
c. 8.

Col. Lypf.

Lypf. lib. 4. c. 2.

pag. 172.

magistratus est deus domus templaria. Chiefely, or first, our care
should be about Divine things ; and sure it is the best
policy, for as a wise man said, *Jam verò publicè, qui*
salvissimus, nisi illa salva ? Religio & timor Dei so-
lus est, qui custodit hominum inter se societatem. Now
who may be safe in a Common-wealth, unlesse Re-
ligion be safe ? for its Religion and the feare of
God alone, that keepest the society of men among
themselves.

Let Gods way goe first, and it will enlighten, and
it will guard our wayes ; if we walke uprightly, even
our enemies shall be at peace with us. But if we lay
our owne counsels deepe, and lay aside (though for a
while) the way of God, our owne counsels will de-
stroy us, or God will destroy them, and make us
know, that it is the safest and best policie, to gaine
him, and keepe him on our sides ; and in such cases
it will prove the most successfull, at the least the
most comfortable, to denie our carnall reasonings
herein: Let us consult our counsels with our owne
hearts.

Its bad to say with the worldling, I will but pro-
vide so many Portions, and obtaine such a proportion
of Land, then I will rest, and serve the Lord ; let us
not first seeke our selves, then the Lord : its no part
of

of true Faith, to trie what the Lord will doe first for us, before we doe any thing for him; and its no-wisedome, to trust our hearts till then: for they not onely coole in the meane time, but are subject to severall mutations, from temptations arising out of the alterations of our conditions. In a word, while the Magistrate makes fences for his owne Government, let him make some for Christs, and let not his Church lye so open, his Lawes so loose, and readie for spoile and defilement; least God pull downe the hedge of the Magistrates territories, and rayse up another Magistrate, that will take care of his owne.

4. The Common-wealths peace cannot be firme, without the Churches peace; if the Church be tossed upon the waves, the Common-wealth cannot be in a calme: but when she rides under a full sayle, and all her men acting in their severall offices and places, its a signe that then the Civill Government is well, and settled, or will be so. How-ever, no permanencie to Peace, while there is no assured and reall establishment of Religion. Saith *Jehu*; *What peace, while the whoredomes of thy Mother Jezebel are so great?* While Israel ungratefully neglected the House of God, after her deliverance, God had other secret judgements to eat out her comforts, and to make her libertie more miserable then her captivitie.

Now there is a *Negative* Peace, when the Magistrate, as a third man, interposes himselfe betwixt jangling parties, and by his power abates differences; this is well, but this will not long continue: the severitie of a Judge may make the high-way so plain

and peacefull, that a rich man with his wand may walke in the duske of the evening; but till those mens spirits be made honest, there will be such to interrupt it againe. Now there is an *Affirmative*, where there are holy and sure grounds for reconciliation and unitie layd for the Church to walke by, its probable then to be One indeed, and a reall Peace establisht. *Quibus spiritus unus est, unus sit & animus & sensus, Cypr. in Orat. Dom.* in whom there may be one spirit, one minde, one meaning: surely, to have one way in generall to walke by, is the next way to reduce men unto it. A great Polititian was in judgement, that it behoved a Common-wealth to have but one Church in it, which is directly conductive to civill Peace. Wee all desire to see this liberall and beautifull Queene, *Peace*, to be Regent amongst us, and to command us to beat out our Drum-heads, and beat our Swords into Plough-shares. But dost thou desire this for thy selfe? so does many: for the publique? that's more noble: for God? that's Christian; Thou askest it; aske it for Gods sake; not onely as the efficient cause and ground in himselfe of bestowing it on us, but as the finall cause, on which thou wouldst bestow it.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love it. Jerusalem was the chiefe Citie, and place of justice; Jerusalem was the chiefe place of worship, and type of the Church of God; *pray for the peace of both*; pray out of worldly and ardent affection, from a sincere and entire heart, desiring to see Sion in her beautie, and these teares of division, of
losse,

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losse, of feare, of bloud, to be wiped off; sure such prayers are full, and will be most like to speed: but alas! what love men beare to Sion, their faint and very wishes for peace doe too much testifie! Howsoever pray for it, thy prayers may counter-worke others endeavours. Therefore we pray for Magistrates, as our dutie, being subiects, as Rulers over us, and Nurses of Sion; both Magistrates & people pray for Sion, because they all are, or ought to be her subjects, and to lay all they have at her feet, to serve her: And let them know, that such as out of pure affection pray for her, *shall prosper*. Here is the encouragement of all, *they shall prosper*, &c. Men may pray for peace, and not love the peace of *Sion*, nay be inward enemies unto it, therefore they prosper not. Men never saw in the Promise the excellency of *Sion*, what is foretold of it, therefore neither pray for, nor love it, these prosper not likewise. But if the private man would prosper in the Shop, the Field, the Family: if the Minister would prosper in his Calling among his people, or the *Magistrate* in the administration of his Government: let them love the peace of *Ierusalem*, let that love breake into the flame of desires, and pray for it. And let the God of peace, for Christ his Sons sake the King of Peace, and head of his Church, send down his Spirit to guide the hearts of all his people in the way of Peace, that so his *Ierusalem* here below may be restored to her glory, that is now in trouble, *Amen*.